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AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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From a Pompeian Picture after Nicolini

HISTORY OF ROME,

AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE
BARBARIANS.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

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Containing over Three Thousand Engravings, One Hundred Maps and Plans,
AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

FOURTH PERIOD

(CONTINUED).

THE PUNIC WARS (264-201).

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. FROM THE BATTLE OF
CANNÆ TO THAT OF THE METAURUS (216-207).

I. MEASURES TAKEN AT ROME AFTER CANNÆ; DEFECTION OF CAPUA.

“LET me go forward with my cavalry,” said one of his officers to Hannibal the evening after the battle, “and in five days you shall sup in the Capitol.” But never did an army of mercenaries sacrifice to its leader, however beloved, the day after a victory. To obtain much from such soldiers, much must be allowed them. Hannibal gave them time to gather up the spoils, to strip the dead, to sell their prisoners, and to celebrate, in prolonged orgies, their recent triumph. He knew, moreover, that between him and Rome there was a distance of eighty-eight leagues, there were rivers, mountains, fortified towns, a hostile country; last of all, an immense city defended by high walls and a moat thirty feet deep and a hundred broad;¹ and behind them a whole people in arms.

At Rome distress produced reaction; when the first moment of stupor was past, the city rang with sounds of preparation.

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The wall on the inner side rested against an embankment fifty feet wide. See Vol. I., pp. 161-162.

Fabius, who was listened to as an oracle, directed that the women should remain at home, lest by their lamentations in the temples they might weaken the courage of the inhabitants; that all able-bodied men should be armed; that bands of cavalry should patrol the roads; that the senators should go about the city keeping order, setting guards at the gates, and preventing the departure of anybody from the city. In order to have done with the signs of grief as soon as possible, the time of mourning for the slain was limited to thirty days: the city seemed another Sparta. Nor were the gods neglected. Certain senators particularly versed in such matters undertook the duty of restoring confidence by satisfying popular superstitions. An embassy under the charge of Fabius Pictor set off for Delphi to consult the Pythia. The god of light and poetry doubtless gave only patriotic counsels. But the Roman divinities were more gloomy; among the religious expiations required some were cruel; two Vestals, accused of adultery, were interred alive in the field of crime, *campus sceleratus*; two Gauls and two Greeks suffered the same fate.¹ The chaste and implacable Vesta, with her honor thus avenged, would now return to her faithful people; and it was believed that the infernal gods, appeased by these abominable sacrifices, would no longer demand the hecatombs of war.

But the disastrous year was not yet ended. A few days later, news came that a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the States of Hiero; that another lay in wait at the Aegatian Islands to fall upon Lilybaeum as soon as the praetor had gone; finally, that Postumius Albinus, drawn with his army into an ambushade by the Cisalpine Gauls, had perished there, and that his skull, set in gold, now served the Boian priests as a cup whence they poured libations in their sacrifices.³ But after the great disaster of Cannae these new misfortunes seemed trivial. Men's hearts, moreover, were regaining courage. Two



COIN OF TEANUM.²

¹ Livy, xxii. 57. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxx. 12) places in the year 97 a senatus-consultum, abolishing human sacrifices: . . . *ne homo immolaretur*.

² On the obverse, TIANVR, in Oscan. Head of Mercury and a star. On the reverse, SIKIKIN, in Oscan. Bull with human face and a star. Bronze coin of Teanum Sidicinum.

³ Polybius, iii. 106, 118.

legions were already in the city, and to them Marcellus added fifteen hundred more soldiers from the fleet at Ostia; also, with an activity and clear-sightedness which announced the successful adversary of Hannibal, he posted a whole legion at Teanum Sidicinum, to bar the road into Latium. Since the war began, more than a hundred thousand Romans and allies had perished; these two campaigns had then reduced by one seventh the military strength of Rome.¹ M. Junius Pera, however, being created dictator by the Senate, raised four legions, and a thousand horse, together with eight thousand slaves bought from their owners, and called for the contingents of the allies. Arms were lacking, and he despoiled the temples and porticos of the trophies accumulated there during two centuries. Finally, when Carthalo came with deputies from the prisoners of Cannae to speak of peace and ransom, a lictor was sent at once to bid him depart from the Roman territory. About ten thousand soldiers were in the power of Hannibal: these the Senate refused to ransom; others² had taken refuge at Venusia and at Canusium: it decreed that they should go into Sicily, there to serve without pay or military honors, until Hannibal should have been driven out of Italy.³

This patriotic heroism verged on cruelty. Rome regarded as criminals her soldiers taken captive by the enemy; she consigned to the slave-markets of African cities, she gave over to all the miseries and all the disgrace of slavery, these sons, these brothers of senators, who fighting at Cannae had already risked their lives for her. But it is with these extreme severities that nations are saved; on the day when Rome took this grievous resolution, she found therein the superhuman strength which must presently give her the victory.

These men, stern though they were, showed at the same time an admirable spirit of conciliation. Disregarding their causes of

¹ See above the total of the Roman forces in 225.

² About three thousand, according to Polybius; according to Livy, eight thousand. The reader will doubtless remember the improbable story, that the fugitives after Cannae proposed to seek an asylum with foreign kings, and that Scipio defeated this scheme by threatening death to the first man who should speak of flight. Polybius makes no mention of this report, although he narrates minutely the youth of Scipio. After the battle of Cannae, Hannibal again had sent home the Italian prisoners without ransom.

³ Livy, xxii. 61.

complaint against Varro, the faults of this popular consul, and his flight from the field of battle, the Senate went out in a body to meet him, with all the people, as he drew near Rome, and thanked him publicly that he had not despaired of the Republic.¹ This magnanimity should be remembered to the credit of the Roman Senate, when we recollect how cruel and how suspicious democracies are wont to be in times of peril. The manner in which this body was composed goes far towards explaining their moderation. To fill the gaps made in it by the war, a new dictator, Fabius Buteo, was appointed, who prepared a list consisting of, first, former senators; then, of those who had held curule magistracies since 221, who had been tribunes, aediles, and quaestors; and finally, who had obtained civic crowns, or had brought home trophies from the enemy: making in all a hundred and seventy-seven new members.

But the proposition made by Spurius Carvilius, that each one of the Latin cities should be allowed to send two of the new senators, was rejected with indignation. This refusal was a mistake: first, because the Latins merited the confidence of Rome; and secondly, because if the Senate had adopted the resolution, and had granted to all the Italian cities, one after another, the right to designate their two senators, that assembly would have become the true representative body of Italy, and would have been able to save the Republic and render the Empire unnecessary. Up to the time of Augustus, the Romans, with all the imperious egotism of a city turning the whole world to its profit, had nothing more than a municipal constitution. By accepting the proposition of Carvilius, they would have given themselves a national constitution, in which the subjugated would have found a place beside those who had conquered them, and in this way would have restrained the power of the rapacious oligarchy whom its excesses finally destroyed. Rome soon expiated this fault, when, in 209, twelve Latin colonies refused joint action with her.

¹ He still remained in command of the army of Apulia, and later on the legions of Picenum were intrusted to him. In 203 he was one of the three ambassadors sent to Philip; three years later he went in the same character to Africa; after this, as *triumvir*, led a colony to Venusia. These high trusts and this long-continued favor prove that the man defeated at Cannae was not the low demagogue that Livy describes. Frontinus (*Strategematon*, iv. 5 and 6) is favorable to him; Polybius, however (iii. 116), treats him with great severity.

Meanwhile, in the south of Italy the fidelity of some states had given way before so many disasters. Rome having no longer an army to defend them, they went over to the enemy; these were the Bruttians, Lucanians, some of the Apulians, the Caudini, the Hirpini, and in Campania, the cities Atella, Calatia, and Capua.¹

Capua was six or seven miles in circumference. Its strong walls had seven gates, opening upon seven great streets, of which those named Seplasia and Albana are celebrated. The stately temples of Jupiter, Mars, and Fortuna, the forum, the curia, the amphitheatre, with its immense subterranean vaults, which recent researches have brought to light, other edifices of public utility or ornament, and an immense number of bronze statues, made Capua, according to Cicero, the rival of Corinth. She wished to be also the rival of Rome; and because she could arm thirty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand cavalry, believed herself, notwithstanding her effeminate manners, fit to give the law to Italy. Many noble Campanians had married into Roman families; but the people preserved their hostility towards Rome, and honors gained there seemed to them a disgrace. After Thrasimene, Hannibal, by means of the captives he sent away without ransom, had laid the train of a defection which exploded upon the news of his victory at Cannae. He promised to levy in the city neither troops nor taxes, to leave to it an unbroken independence, and, as soon as Rome should have been destroyed, to recognize Capua as

¹ It has been the custom largely to exaggerate (after Livy) the defections which followed the battle of Cannae. He says, indeed: *Defecere . . . Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentrios, Bruttii omnes, Lucani; praeter hos Surrentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique et Cisalpini omnes Galli* (xxii. 61); but the later books compel us to correct this passage. In Apulia we find under the power of Hannibal only Arpi, Salapia, Herdonia, Ugentum; the large towns, Luceria, Venusia, and Canusium, remained to the Romans. By the Samnites we must understand only the Caudini and the Hirpini, in whose territory the Romans preserved Beneventum. The Bruttii were determined to exert themselves only in their own interests. The Greeks of the Gulf of Tarentum, far from betraying Rome, remained faithful to her. Petelia was taken only after a desperate resistance; Crotona, Locri, and Consentia, only after a siege, as late as 215; Tarentum not until 212, when the city was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal. Metapontum and Thurium went over to the enemy in 212 and 213 (xxv. 1 and 15), that is to say, when Hannibal had been expelled from Campania and had fallen back into Magna Graecia. Rhegium, Brundisium, and Calabria remained faithful all through. In regard to the Cisalpines, the battle of Cannae in no respect changed their position. Livy, forgetting what he had written in chap. xxii., says in chap. xxvi.: "The defection of Capua only caused that of a few other states."

the capital of Italy.¹ To seal this alliance indissolubly, the Capuans seized upon all the Romans living in their midst, and smothered them in the public baths. They had good reason to fear that Rome would avenge this upon the three hundred Campanian horse serving in Sicily; and against that danger Hannibal gave the Capuans as hostages an equal number of his prisoners, whom they selected at will from the crowd of captives.



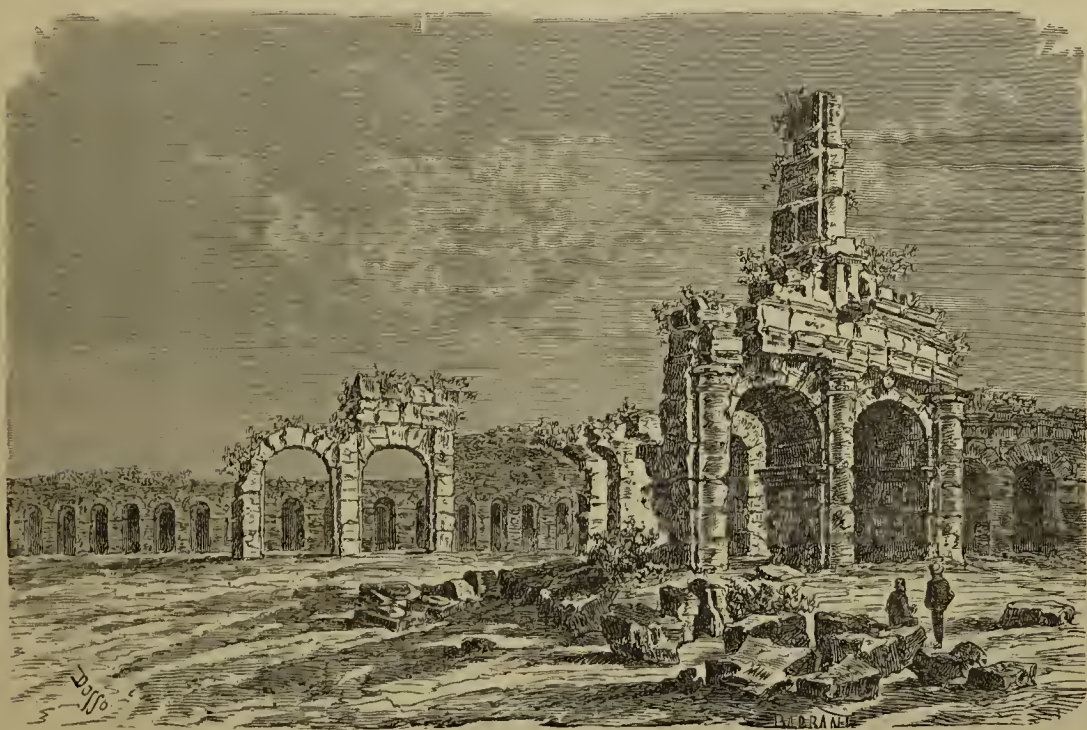
LOWER PART OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT CAPUA.²

One of the most respected men of Capua, Decius Magius, pointed out, but in vain, to his fellow citizens that Hannibal would deal with them as Pyrrhus had dealt with the Tarentines, and that, notwithstanding all his promises, their liberty was gone for ever. When the Carthaginian garrison arrived, he even tried to have the gates closed against them: Hannibal, rendered uneasy

¹ Livy, xxiii. 7-10. *Brevi caput Italiae omni Capuam fore* (*ibid.*, 10). Livy adds (xxiii. 6) that according to several writers the Capuans before going over to Hannibal had asked at Rome to share in the consulate.

² The amphitheatre at Capua was one of the largest in Italy; it is well known that Hadrian restored it, but the date of its original construction cannot be fixed.

by this conduct on the part of Magius, summoned him to his camp. "Your master," the Capuan replied to the messengers, "has no authority over the senator of a free city;" and he refused to go. Then the Carthaginian announced that he should visit Capua in person. By order of the magistrates all the people in gala attire went forth to meet the hero, whom no man had so far been able to defeat. Magius let the crowd go past, rushing into slavery. He himself remained in his house for a time; then, lest he should be accused of cowardice, walked forth calmly into the market-place, accompanied by his son and some of his clients.



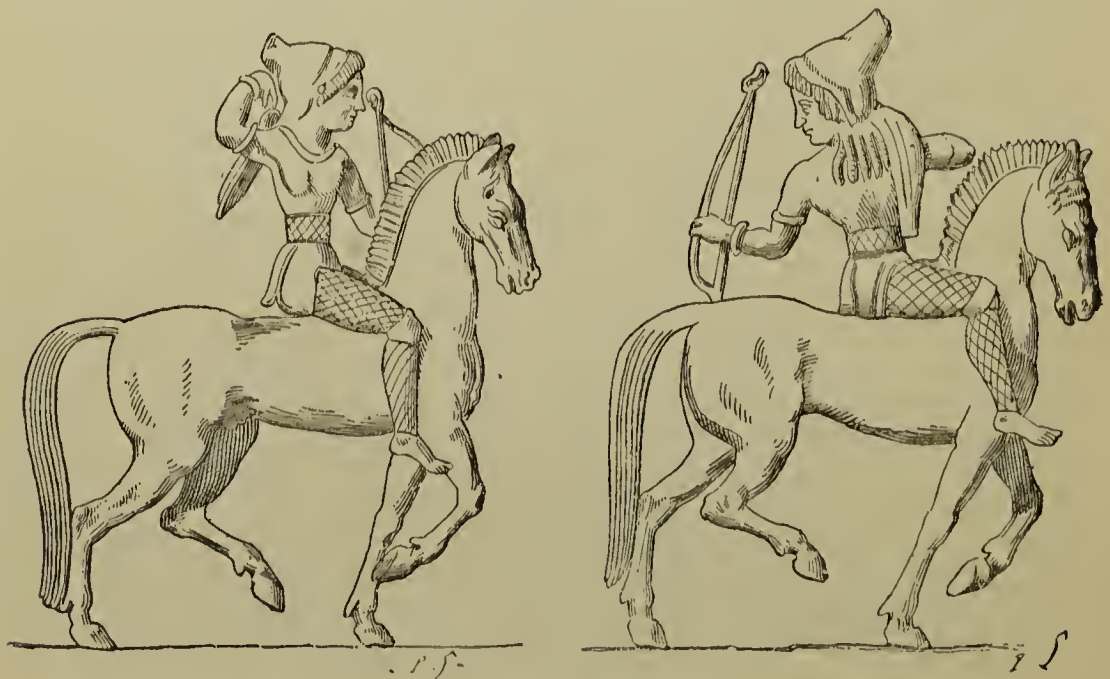
RUINS OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT CAPUA.

Hannibal desired the Senate to assemble at once and try Magius; but the people implored him not to sadden this festal day by an act of severity; and, not to refuse the first request they had made him, he agreed to wait till the morrow. Meantime, he visited the city, famed as the most beautiful in Italy, and went to supper at the house of Pacuvius, the leader of the party favorable to Carthage.

Pacuvius had a son, Perolla, who was in sympathy with Magius. Invited to the feast, he went armed with a dagger, wherewith to reconcile Rome and Capua by murdering the con-

queror of Cannae. But, not daring to strike under his father's eye, he drew the latter aside, and revealed to him his design, that Pacuvius might withdraw from the scene where Hannibal was about to perish. Pacuvius implored, threatened, and, as magistrate and father, commanded the murderer to renounce his design. "If you persist," he says, "it is I against whom your blow will be directed; for I shall protect with my body the man who is now my guest." And the son, conquered by paternal authority, cast away his weapon.

On the following day the Senate assembled, and Hannibal demanded that Magius should be delivered up to him. The senators, concealing their cowardice under a semblance of justice,



CAMPANIAN HORSEMEN.¹

directed the magistrate to take his seat and listen to the defence of the accused. Magius, dragged into his presence, refused to answer to the accusation, and protested against so speedy a violation of the treaty. He was loaded with chains; and while a lictor was leading him away to the Carthaginian camp, he cried aloud to the people: "Behold your much-desired liberty! In the open forum, in full daylight, I, who am second to no man in Capua, am torn from my family and dragged away to death.

¹ These two bronzes were found near Capua. (*Inst. Arch., Atlas*, vol. v. pl. 25.)

What worse could you have suffered, had Capua been taken by assault? Come, therefore, and witness Hannibal's triumph over one of your fellow citizens." The people were much excited by this appeal, and the guard who had charge of Magius covered his head to prevent his speaking. At the camp, however, Hannibal dared not put his prisoner to death, but he despatched him in a vessel to Carthage, where no doubt a cruel fate awaited him, had not a fortunate shipwreck set him free upon the coast of the Cyrenaica. Here Magius fled for refuge to a statue of King Ptolemy, and the King, being informed of the whole matter, welcomed to the Egyptian court the bold defender of his country's liberties.

Hannibal being thus established in the heart of Campania, and having a great city as his base of operations, could await reinforcements from Carthage. After Cannæ he had sent Mago thither, and the latter poured out in the presence of the Senate a bushel of gold rings taken from the Roman knights slain on the field of battle. Hanno still kept up his distrust. "If Hannibal is victorious," he said, "he has no need of reinforcements; if he is defeated, he deceives us, and deserves none." But the Barcine faction triumphed. It was decreed that four thousand Numidians and forty elephants should be sent into Italy; a senator was despatched to Spain with money to raise a force of twenty thousand infantry and four thousand horse; and Hasdrubal received orders to cross the Pyrenees. But these measures were slowly or badly carried out;¹ and in a great battle near the unknown city of Ibera, the Scipios destroyed the army of Hasdrubal, who was obliged to retire into the south of Spain (216).

For his communications with Carthage Hannibal had need of a seaport. He attempted to seize Naples; but the Greeks of Campania were devoted to Rome, and Naples resisted. He failed also before Cumæ and before Nola, where the nobles had called to their



GOLD RING OF A ROMAN KNIGHT.

¹ *Seguiter otioseque gesta.* (Livy, xxiii. 14.)

aid Marcellus. The latter, in a sortie, killed more than two thousand Africans, and this un hoped-for success was celebrated as a great victory; but it did not prevent Hannibal from destroying Nuceria and Acerrae, and closely blockading Casilinum. The siege of this little place, traversed by the Volturnus, is interesting in more than one aspect. The garrison was composed of only two cohorts, one from Perusia, the other from Praeneste, and a few Latins, who, on the news of Varro's disaster, had thrown themselves into the city. They defended it bravely, as well against Hannibal's offers as against his attacks; and we may conclude that in this part of the peninsula the Carthaginians were regarded as the mortal enemies of Italy. The garrison of Casilinum, indeed, cut themselves off from all hope of safety in case the city should be taken by storm. Suspecting the inhabitants of being favorable to Hannibal, they fell upon them and murdered them all



COIN STRUCK FOR THE PAY OF THE
CARTHAGINIAN MERCENARIES.¹

in their houses. Although this massacre reduced the number of mouths to feed, want soon began to make itself felt in the place. They were reduced to eat unclean animals, and even the leather of their bucklers. The Romans encamped in the neighborhood

did indeed send during the night a few casks filled with grain, which the current of the river floated down into the town; also they threw nuts into the Volturnus, which the besieged caught by screens. But the abundant rains having caused an overflow of the banks, this stratagem was discovered, and the river watched. At last the garrison was forced to surrender, and Hannibal made terms with them. The leader of the Praenestines had been a scribe. Justly proud of the defence of Casilinum, he caused his own statue to be set up in the forum of Praeneste, covered with a cuirass and clad in a toga, with this inscription, which Livy mentions that he had read: "The vow of M. Amicius for the soldiers who defended Casilinum."² A decree of the Senate gave to the

¹ This piece of Greek workmanship (*moneta castrensis*) bears a Punic legend signifying "of the people of the camp." (Note by M. de Sauley.)

² Livy, xxiii. 17-20.

survivors of the siege double pay, with exemption for five years from military duty. But when the right of Roman citizenship was offered them, they declined, preferring to remain Praenestines. Love of their native city and generous devotion to the city of their adoption were the sentiments which prompted so many great deeds among the Italians of that epoch.

II. SIEGE OF CAPUA ; PATRIOTISM AND CONSTANCY OF THE ROMANS.

AT the close of the year 216 the following was the position of the two parties : Junius Pera, posted at Teanum with twenty-five thousand soldiers, covered the line of the Liris and protected Latium ; Marcellus at Nola defended the cities of Southern Campania ; between them Hannibal was encamped at Capua, whence he continued the blockade of Casilinum, which detained him six months ; meanwhile, one of his lieutenants, Himilco, stirred up insurrection in Bruttium, where he stormed Petelia and Consentia. The defection of Locri furnished Hannibal with an excellent harbor, and that of Crotona, whence the nobles had been driven out, gave him an important city. In all this region one single town remained in alliance with the Romans, — Rhegium ; but this was the most important to them of all, for it was the key of the Straits.



VASE OF NOLA.¹

¹ Vase with two handles, made at Nola. The vase presents two subjects, one of which only is represented here : first, Neptune standing, trident in one hand, a fish in the other ; second, Amymone, also standing, turning her head towards Neptune, who comes to save her from the pursuit of a satyr. Red on a black ground. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,329.

Varro held Apulia with an army which rested upon the great stronghold of Luceria. Etruria, Umbria, and almost all Central Italy remained faithful, and the Cisalpine nations, despite their recent victory, made no hostile demonstrations; the Senate put off till a more propitious moment the vengeance due them, and directed against Hannibal all the available strength of Rome, under



VENUS OF CAPUA.²

command of Fabius, the best of her generals, now consul for the third time. The first act of Fabius showed him faithful to his old policy: he ordered that all the grain throughout Campania should be brought in to the fortified cities before the kalends of June, under penalty, to him who should fail, of seeing his fields ravaged, his slaves sold, and his buildings burned.¹

In the spring of 215 Fabius took command of the legions at Teanum. Sempronius Gracchus, with twenty-five thousand troops of the allies and all the slaves who had been enrolled, took up a position at Sinuessa, his left resting upon the extreme right of Fabius. When he had ascertained that the marshes formed by the Volturnus at its mouth were on that side a sure protection, he established himself at Liternum, near Cumae, that he

might thus defend all the ports of the Bay of Naples, and make sure that no succors should arrive by sea. Marcellus remained

¹ Livy, xxiii. 32.

² This superb statue, found at Capua, is now in the Museum at Naples. Its attitude recalls that of the Venus of Melos, and has given rise to the theory that she is admiring herself in the buckler of Mars.



GATE OF CUMAE.

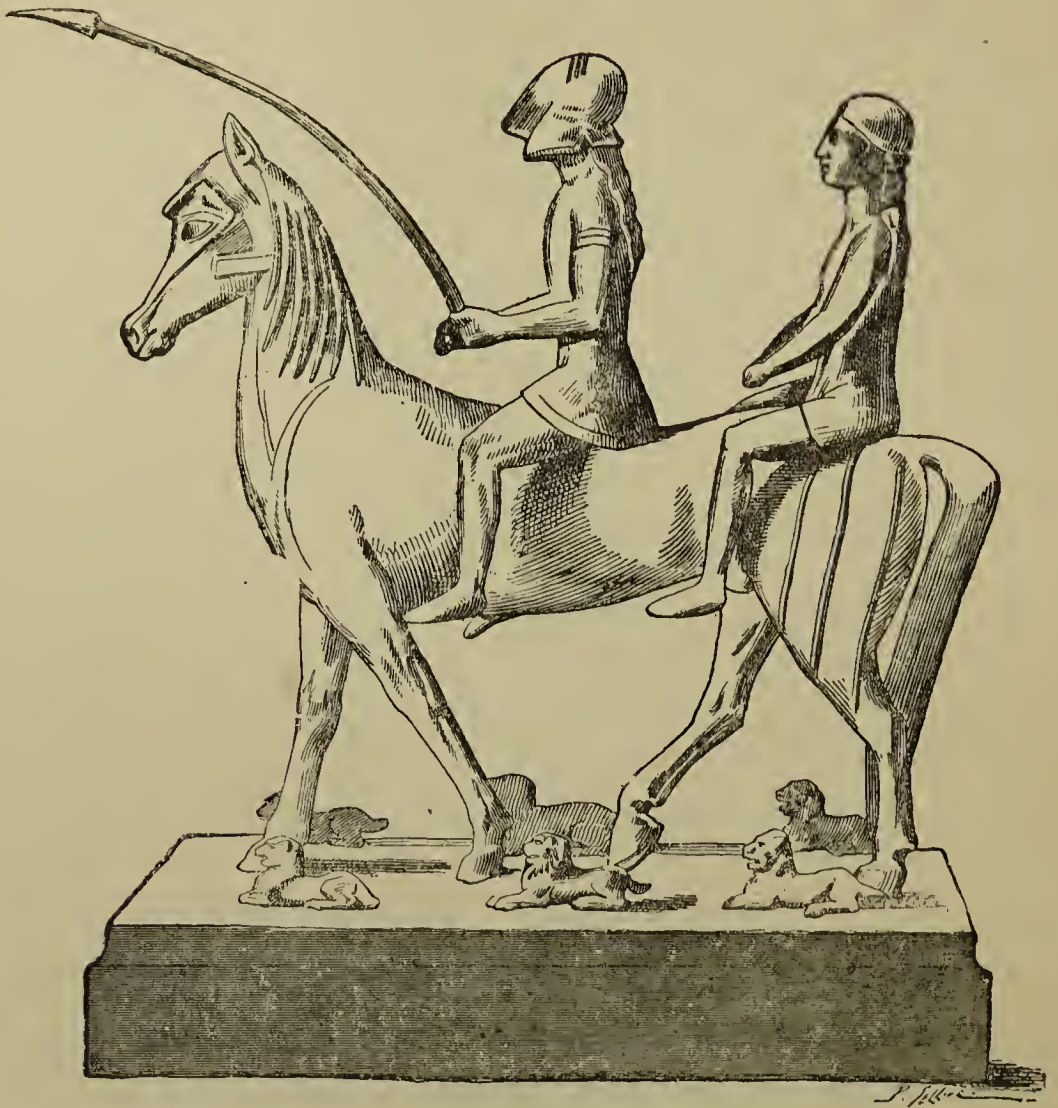
in front of Nola, threatening Capua from the south, as Fabius and Sempronius threatened it from the north and west. The garrison at Beneventum on the east completed the investment of the Campanian territory, and was in communication with the garrison at Luceria, composed of the legion of Apulia. Varro was employed in organizing a fifth army in Picenum; Pomponius had another in Gaul. The survivors of Cannae, with other troops, defended Sicily, and three fleets guarded respectively the coasts of this island, Calabria, and Latium. Including the forces under the Scipios and the praetor of Sardinia, the Senate had now nine armies and four fleets, or about two hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom ninety thousand were to besiege Capua and Hannibal.

The African general found in his Italian allies little eagerness to range themselves under his banner; and the successful operations of the Scipios, together with the bad policy of the Carthaginian Senate, which sent to Spain and to Sardinia a strong reinforcement, prepared by Mago for his brother, left the latter alone against Rome. But during that winter passed by Hannibal at Capua, according to Livy,¹ so fatal to his troops, he sent out secret emissaries in every direction; and suddenly it was known at Rome that Sardinia threatened revolt, and that in Sicily Gelon, notwithstanding his aged father, was seeking to bring Syracuse into alliance with Carthage; that finally, Philip of Macedon had recently concluded an agreement with Hannibal to the effect that he would cross over to the Italian coast with two hundred vessels.² Fortunately Gelon suddenly died; the praetor

¹ Montesquieu destroys with a word the lengthy argument of Livy: "Would not Hannibal's soldiers, becoming rich by so many victories, have found Capua everywhere?"

² This treaty is reported by Polybius and by Livy in very different terms: according to the former it was rather a defensive alliance, according to the latter an offensive alliance. But the text in Polybius states at the end: Ἐὰν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν ἀφελεῖν ἢ προσθεῖναι πρὸς τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον, ἀφελούμεν, and above, Βοηθήσετε δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ὥς ἂν χρεία ᾖ καὶ ὥς ἂν συμφωνήσωμεν (vii. 9). The text of Livy specifying the nature of the assistance promised by Philip gives possibly this addition. The text of Polybius being an isolated fragment, we are not justified in saying that according to this writer there were no other agreements between Philip and Hannibal. By this treaty all the booty was to belong to Hannibal, Rome and Italy to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. If the name of Carthage is there, it is evidently only for form's sake. In regard to Philip, the Carthaginians were afterward to aid him against all his enemies, and the conquests they should jointly make in Greece and the islands were to belong to him. (Livy, xxiii. 33.)

Manlius, destroyed or took prisoners all the Carthaginian army in Sardinia, and Philip was so slow with his preparations that the Senate had time to forestall him in Greece.



WARRIOR MOUNTED, WITH A MAN ON THE CRUPPER BEHIND HIM.¹

To expand and break through this circle of iron which was closing in about him. Hannibal was constrained to make a war of sieges, in which he lost all the advantages of his genius. At the present day, means of attack are superior to means of defence; in

¹ A very ugly but curious bronze, found at Grumentum in Lucania. (Atlas of the *Institut archéologique*, vol. v., pl. 50.) Is this a souvenir of the Roman method before Capua, of cavalry corps where every trooper had a foot-soldier behind him, represented here by way of an *ex-voto*? Did Hannibal also imitate this organization? The armor, or at least the helmet, of the first man is not unlike the Carthaginian panoply, represented Vol. I. no. 8, p. 543. See also Vol. I. p. 542, note 3, what is said in respect to this panoply.

ancient times it was otherwise. Hannibal failed before Cumae, which was defended by Gracchus, and was twice repulsed at Nola; in one of these engagements Marcellus killed five thousand of the Carthaginian army. At the same time Fabius crossed the Vulturnus, and, advancing slowly but surely, took three cities near Capua; Sempronius Longus defeated Hanno at Grumentum, and drove him back from Lucania into Bruttium; Valerius Laevinus captured the towns belonging to the Hirpini, and the authors of the revolt were all put to death; finally, from Nola, Marcellus sent out a portion of his troops to ravage the country of the Caudine Samnites.

Shut up amid the Roman armies of Campania, driven back wherever he made an attempt upon a fortified town, Hannibal was defeated without battles, by means of this skilfully conceived and firmly executed plan. The Lucanian and Apulian legions were approaching, and dissatisfaction broke out among his troops. In the siege of Nola, twelve hundred and sixty-two Numidian and Spanish horsemen had deserted; Hannibal therefore made haste to escape before all egress was cut off, and retreated as far as Arpi, near the Adriatic Sea; he was also influenced by the desire of going to meet Philip. This flight left Capua exposed to Roman vengeance. The siege at once began, and Fabius ravaged the adjacent country, keeping his forces encamped about three leagues from the city.

From Spain also nothing but good news arrived at Rome. The year 215 was therefore fortunate in its events; but new perils were in store for the following year: Syracuse had proved unfaithful, and Philip was at last on his way.

The Senate equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels, and kept on foot eighteen legions, without counting the army of Spain. Eight were threatening Hannibal, three held the Cisalpines in subjection, one was at Brundisium, ready to cross the Adriatic against Philip, two were in Sardinia, two more in Sicily, and two at Rome. This comprised a third part of all the able-bodied population of the countries subject to the legionary recruiting. Notwithstanding its victories, the army of Spain lacked everything, and the others were in a state of great destitution. The Scipios pressed their demands for money, corn, clothing for the

soldiers, rigging for the ships. But the treasury was empty, although taxation had been doubled,¹ and the weight of the *as* had been reduced by a decree that the denarius should be worth sixteen, instead of ten, of the smaller coin, and the generals in Central Italy had coined a debased currency wherewith to pay their troops and commissaries.² The Senate appealed to patriotism, and all ranks vied in a noble emulation. The guardians of widows and orphans carried to the temples the money of their wards, confiding this sacred deposit to the public credit; and three companies, with the sole condition that they should be the first to be reimbursed on the cessation of hostilities, undertook to supply food to the Spanish army. Sailors were needed for the fleet, and every senator furnished eight, with a year's pay; other citizens offered seven, six, or three, according to their means. In the land army the knights and the centurions relinquished to the state their pay; and when, after the victory at Beneventum, Sempr. Gracchus declared all the enrolled slaves in his army free, their masters refused to receive compensation until the war should be over.³ On the same conditions contractors furnished the means of keeping public buildings in repair, of purchasing horses for the magistrates, etc.; and, to reserve the precious metals for the public use, the Oppian law forbade women to wear by way of ornament above a half ounce of gold. Some young men had attempted to evade military duty; these the censors sought for, and they were sent away into Sicily to join the fugitives of Cannae.

One common spirit of patriotic devotion animated the whole great body of Roman people. The soldiers were worthy of their chiefs; the courage of the former responded to the sagacity of the latter. Silus Sergius, one of the ancestors of Catiline, had received twenty-three wounds, and had lost his right arm; in this condition he made four more campaigns. The filial piety of his son has been much applauded, who caused a medal to be struck, representing Sergius on horseback, holding in the left hand an enemy's head, which he has just cut off. The Romans of that time were truly sons of Bellona, the divinity who gives martial ardor. To

¹ Livy, xxiii. 31.

² Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, i. 227.

³ Livy, xxiv. 11, 18.

approach her altar, a man must wound himself in the thigh, and drink the blood which flows thence.¹ Like the Bretons of mediaeval history, they are ready to cry: "Drink thy blood, Beaumanoir!"

Rome gave, as we see on every hand, only the noblest examples. In the year 214 the people proposed to raise to the consulship two citizens not renowned for military services. One, Otacilius, was the nephew of the Cunctator. The first century named him. Fabius, president of the comitiae, at once caused the election to be suspended; he reproached the people and the candidates, and pointed out to them what consuls the circumstances demand. Otacilius objecting to this, Fabius orders his lictors to advance. "Take care," he says, "we are yet in the Campus Martius; I am not within the city, the axes are yet among the rods;" and he sends the multitude to the poll. All the centuries then elected Fabius and Marcellus,—one, as was said, the shield, the other the sword, of Rome. The people, notwithstanding their instinctive jealousy of the great aristocratic leader, had recognized the fact that desire for the public weal, and no barren ambition, animated this old man, already laden with so many honors.³ At another election Manlius Torquatus refused the consulship; again the century of the *juniores* desire before voting to confer with the *seniores*, and name as their candidates those whom the old men recommend to them.⁴ We have no means of knowing what went on in Carthage at this time; but it seems certain that there was neither that disinterestedness on the part of the nobles, nor that wisdom among the common people, which existed at Rome.

To this picture we must hold up, in contrast, the avidity of some and the disorderly conduct of others. Thus a certain



COIN OF SILUS SERGIUS.²

¹ Tertull., *Apol.* 9.

² The obverse, ROMA, EX. S. C., that is to say, struck by order of the Senate. Head of Rome or of Pallas, with the mark of the denarius. The reverse, the legend M. SERGI SILVS with a monetary symbol, and a horseman at full gallop bearing a human head. Silver denarius of the Sergian family.

³ Livy, xxiv. 7, 8, 9.

⁴ Livy, xxvi. 22.

Postumius of Pyrgi scuttled at sea some old empty vessels, and obtained pay for them as new and loaded with munitions; in Bruttium, one Pomponius Veientanus formed bands of slaves and



COIN OF ARPI.²

adventurers, and carried on a predatory warfare.¹ But these evils are those of all periods; they are engendered necessarily by prolonged wars: we must, however, mark their appearance in Roman history, for the exactions of

the tax-gatherers will later render the Empire necessary, while the deterioration of the old military discipline will at the same time facilitate its establishment.

In pursuit of Hannibal, Gracchus moved into Apulia. During the winter many skirmishes with the Carthaginians encamped around Arpi kept his troops alert. But Hannibal remained quite at liberty in respect to his own movements. Implored by Capua, which the two consular armies are pressing close, he boldly advances again into Campania, outwits the Roman generals and their heavy legions, overruns the enemy's country, keeping out of the way of the strongholds and camps that cover it, attacks Pozzuoli, Naples and Nola, where Marcellus again defeats him in a skirmish; then, weary of dashing himself against these unshaken legions,—these ramparts before which he always leaves some of his troops,—he hurries towards Tarentum, in the hope of drawing after him at least the impetuous Marcellus. But no one follows: Marcellus rejoins Fabius at the siege of Casilinum, which they now carry on together; and Tarentum, where Hannibal has been maintaining spies, where he feels sure of ultimate success, and promises himself to welcome the fleets of Philip and of Carthage, a port which for four years he has been trying to seize,—Tarentum, guarded by the Romans, eludes him still.

While Hannibal was before Nola, the consuls recalled Gracchus and his two legions of slaves from Luceria, to make one more effort to surround the Carthaginian army. At Beneventum

¹ Livy, xxv. 1, 3.

² ΑΡΗΙΑΝΩΝ. Head of Ceres; reverse, ΔΑΙΟΥ, first letters of a magistrate's name. Unbridled horse galloping, and a star. Silver coin. Arpi was situated in the Apulian plain, between Luceria and Sipontum.

Gracchus encountered Hanno; before the battle he promised liberty to his slaves in case of victory, and Hanno escaped from the field with but two thousand men left. This success, the most brilliant gained by the Romans since the beginning of the war, drove the enemy out of the Samnite country, whose cities Fabius now retook one after the other.

Hannibal at this time held only a few fortified towns in Apulia; he went into winter quarters around Salapia, within reach of Arpi, his outpost towards the centre of the peninsula, and facing the Epirote coasts, where events of importance were now going on. The defeat at Beneventum had thrown back his lieutenant, Hanno, into Bruttium. The territory held by the two opponents might at this time (the close of the year 214) be marked off by a line drawn from Mount Garganus to the mouth of the Laüs, which falls into the Gulf of Policastro. This line, resting on the side towards Rome upon fortified towns or entrenched camps, was defended in Lucania by the army of Gracchus; in Apulia, by that of the praetor Fabius. In the rear of Hannibal and Hanno, the Romans still held Calabria, Tarentum, and Rhegium. Capua remained blockaded by the camp of Suessula and the garrison of Casilinum.²



COIN OF SALAPIA.¹

The campaign had ended disastrously for Hannibal. But in requiring the Senate to keep in Italy, against himself alone, fourteen legions, he gave his allies and Carthage time and opportunity to make most important diversions, and to come to his assistance. Did they profit by this?

¹ A laurelled head. On the reverse, TPΩΔAM, a monogram, and three other letters; a free horse and a palm-branch. Bronze coin of Salapia, an Apulian city on the coast of the Adriatic, but separated from the sea by a lagoon, *lago di Salpi*; although the port might, in case of need, serve for small vessels, it did not furnish Hannibal with the safe and easy communication he required on this coast to receive the galleys sent by Philip. However, according to M. de Sauley, it is not certain that this coin belongs to Salapia; all the coinage of that city bears the name, which is not upon this piece. It may be that the monogram, MT, conceals the name of the town to which this coin belongs.

² A few Samnite cities still held out for Hannibal, among them Maronea and Aternum, belonging to the Marrucini. (Livy, xxiv. 47.)

III. HANNIBAL CREATES DISTURBANCES IN MACEDON AND SYRACUSE.

POLYBIUS relates that in the year 217 Philip was in Argos, witnessing the celebration of the Nemean games, when a courier, arriving from Maeeodon, brought him news that the Romans had lost a great battle, and that Hannibal was master of the Italian lowlands. The King showed this letter to Demetrius of Pharos, who urged him to attaek the Illyrians at once, and thenee to pass over into Italy. Demetrius represented that Greeee, already sub-



PHILIP V., KING OF
MACEDON.¹

missive to Philip, would continue obedient; that his enemies, the Aetolians, were about to lay down their arms; that, finally, if he wished to make himself master of united Greeee, a noble ambition, he must now cross the Adriatic and overthrow the Romans, already erippled by Hannibal. And the historian adds: "These words were charming to a king, young, brave, hitherto suceessful in his enterprises, and born of a race always aspiring to universal sway." These had been the dreams of Alexander the Molossian and of Pyrrhus, whose example the Illyrian now strove to impress on the weak heir of the throne of Macedon. Neither the princee nor his counsellor was dismayed at feeling the earth shaken beneath them by the shoek of Rome and Carthage hurled against each other, and into the book of destiny, written by prudence and courage, they sought to earry their ehimerieal hopes. And yet all sagacious Greeks at this time were aware of the storm gathering in the west; and one with prophetic voice had eried; "Let Greece unite her forces; let her consider these immense armies now eontending on the battle-fields of Italy. That war will soon end; Rome or else Carthage will have conquered. Whoever is eonqueror will then come to seek us out in our homes. Be mindful, O Greeks, and thou, Philip, most of all! Let us put an end to our discords, and labor unitedly to avert this peril!"

¹ From a silver coin.

Vain words! Each state kept up its own rancors; and when, after the battle of Cannæ, Philip concluded with Hannibal that imprudent treaty which laid upon him the burdens of the present for the sake of a very uncertain future, he found himself incapable of fulfilling its conditions.

Before going over into Italy according to agreement, Philip made an attempt to destroy the influence and power of Rome in Illyria. With a hundred and twenty galleys he attacked and took Oricum, at the mouth of the Aous; then, ascending the river, besieged Apollonia, an old and flourishing colony of Corinth. This ill-managed attack left time for Valerius Laevinus, the prætor, to bring over a legion from Brundisium. He easily recaptured Oricum, and by night surprised the Macedonian camp; whence Philip fled, half naked, and took refuge on board one of his vessels. The Romans, anchored all across the mouth of the river, barred the passage; and Philip, obliged to burn his fleet, fled overland to Macedon, while Laevinus established his winter quarters at Oricum. One campaign and one legion dispelled all the fears which that war had inspired.

The prætor had believed that he was about to contend with a powerful monarch; and he found as his opponent only an irresolute prince, who wearied Greece, Macedon, and himself with his ever changing schemes. To keep in check for three years this King of Macedon, the Roman general needed but a few thousand men; skilful emissaries, however, were also useful to him, by degrees alienating from Philip the King of Illyria, Athens, the Aetolians,¹ Sparta, Elis, and Messene; later, even Attalus of Pergamus, Rhodes, the Dardanians, and the Thracians. From this time the Romans fought with Philip rather by means of their allies than by their own troops. His forces were successively driven out of all the positions they had occupied in Greece, while the Senate, with a little money and much craft, called down incessantly upon Macedon predatory incursions of the wild mountaineers of Dardania. In 205 Philip solicited peace; and this diversion, which might have determined the result of the strife between Rome and Hannibal, reduced by only a few troops the effective force of the legions of Italy.

¹ The treaty with the Aetolians gave to them all the cities that should be taken, and to the Romans all the plunder.

The defection of Syracuse for some time caused much more serious difficulties. Hiero, to his last day, had remained faithful to Rome, and his son Gelon, whom he had associated with himself in power, shared his sentiments;¹ but Gelon died before his father, and when the latter died,

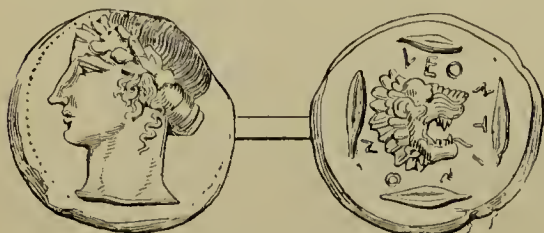
COIN OF GELON.²

in 216, he was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymus. Fifty years of tranquillity, and steadfastness to the same alliance, proved

COIN OF HIERONYMUS.³

too much for turbulent Syracuse. As soon as the strong and gentle hand of Hiero had ceased to restrain his people, they fell under the power of a thousand contradictory desires; and disturbances, plots, and murders multiplied. Hieronymus, the young

King, spoiled by power, as so often happens to those who inherit it in extreme youth, lost it by cruelty and debauchery;⁴ this tyrant of fifteen was murdered by conspirators, and his

COIN OF LEONTINI.⁵

murderers proclaimed liberty in Syracuse. They appointed praetors and a Senate, without, however, being able to give them authority. They desired to preserve the Roman alliance; but two emissaries of Hannibal born

at Carthage of a Syracusan mother, Hippocrates and Epicydes, threw them into war with Rome. These two foreigners had gained the confidence of the numerous mercenaries of the late King. Exiled from Syracuse, they intrigued with the army and with the inhabitants

¹ Livy and Polybius differ [completely] on this point, and we follow the opinion of Polybius.

² Head of Gelon, crowned. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΙ ΒΑ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a biga, at a gallop. Silver didrachm.

³ Head of Hieronymus, crowned. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ and a monetary mark. Winged thunderbolt. A silver didrachm.

⁴ Here we meet with Polybius again (vii. 2): he is less severe upon Hieronymus than is Livy.

⁵ A woman's head. On the reverse, ΛΕΟΝ ΤΙΝΟΝ (in archaic Greek). Lion's head in the centre, four grains of barley around it. Tetradrachm of Leontini.

of Leontini, accusing the praetors of a design to surrender the army to the Roman sword. The praetors were murdered, and Syracuse declared for her old enemy, Carthage.

The tumult, which affected the whole island, decided the Senate to send thither Marcellus, who, at the age of fifty, still showed the ardor of early years. He began by bringing over to the Roman party the inhabitants of Tauromenium; and at the news that Epicydes had excited the Syracusans, he seized upon Leontini, whose territory, renowned for its extreme fertility, would afford support to his troops. From Tauromenium he kept watch on the Ionian Sea; and Leontini was really an outpost of Syracuse, which city lay exposed by its loss, and was readily besieged by the Romans (214).

Syracuse occupied, upon the eastern coast of Sicily, a position admirable both for commerce and war. The central chain of the Sicilian mountains sinks here into two promontories which enclose an extensive marshy area, traversed by the little river Anapus. This marsh, a lagoon partially filled up by alluvial deposits, over which broods incessant malaria, ends in the great harbor which the sea makes between the promontory at the south, Plemmyrium, and that at the north, Achradina, or the quarter of wild pear-trees. The harbor, oval in shape, and about six miles in circumference, was excellently adapted for vessels; even to this day it remains one of the best in Sicily. An island, Ortygia, lay across the entrance, which was about 1,200 yards broad, and could be in part commanded by the *balistae* and catapults of this fortress. A lesser harbor, sufficient, however, for an ancient navy, separated Ortygia from the mainland, and over the narrow channel, which terminated it at the west, a bridge had been constructed. A third harbor, Portus Trogilus, opened to the north, at the base of the cliffs of Hexapylon, so that vessels could enter at Syracuse in almost any winds.

The city occupied the northern promontory,—a large triangle, of which Achradina was the base, and Epipolae the vertex. Like Ortygia, Achradina had its own fortifications separating it from the lower quarters, Neapolis, Temenitis, and Tyche; and an important work, Fort Euryalus, crowned the extreme point of the heights of Epipolae.

Marcellus established his magazines and reserves on the spot

and the sea, by its lofty walls founded on the rock or rising from the water, by the constant solicitude of Hiero to keep his granaries, his arsenals, and his magazines well filled, was, apparently, impregnable; and to all this was added the presence of Archimedes. For the sake of his native city this great geometer consented to leave the heights of abstract thought, and descend to practice. He covered the walls with newly-invented machines, which flung huge masses of rock to a great distance. As often as a Roman vessel ventured near the walls, an iron hand seized it, lifted it into the air and dropped it upon the rocks to be shattered to pieces. If the ships remained in the open sea, mirrors skilfully disposed set them on fire.¹

Carthage, moreover, now showed a politic zeal in seconding Hannibal's designs. As soon as he proposed to reconquer the much-regretted island, she sent thither thirty thousand men, who took Agrigentum, Heracleia, Morgantia, where Marcellus had established his



HEADLESS VENUS FOUND IN ACHRADINA IN 1814.²

magazines, and caused the defection of sixty-five cities. The Romans preserved only the sea-coast towns and Enna, the latter the price of treachery.

¹ Plutarch, *Marcel.* 13–28. Neither Polybius nor Livy mentions these mirrors. Buffon, in the last century, repeated this experiment.

² Saverio Cavallari, *Monumenti della Sicilia*, Pt. I. pl. 19.

But the fall or the deliverance of Syracuse could alone decide the fate of Sicily. All the strength of both parties met at this point.

Archimedes had constrained Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade, and the Carthaginian fleets re-victualled the place



COIN OF ENNA.¹

continually. Despite privations and extreme fatigue, despite a plague which decimated his troops, despite the provocations of Himilco and Hippocrates, the proconsul waited, with a patience worthy of Fabius,

until some treason, inevitable in a city containing so many factions and so many foreigners, should deliver it over into his hands. More than once such an opportunity occurred, but was made unavailing by the promptness of Epicydes. At last, some deserters came in with the story that on the morrow the people were to celebrate with noisy orgies the feast of Diana. A soldier had counted the bricks in the wall adjacent to Trogilus, and estimated in this way its height. Ladders constructed accordingly served for a nocturnal attempt; of the five fortified quarters, two, the Hexapylum and the Epipolae, were seized without resistance under cover of the disorder of this night of revelry. Neapolis and Tyche opened their gates; and the Fort Euryalus, the key to Syracuse, was surrendered by its commandant. But Epicydes still held out in Achradina and the Island of Ortygia. Carthage sent armies, which the plague destroyed, and fleets that dared not attack the Roman galleys. For many months Marcellus was, as it were, besieged in the half-conquered city. Finally, Epicydes, despairing, fled to Agrigentum; a Spanish mercenary opened one of the gates of Achradina, and the whole Roman army rushed in.² Archimedes, notwithstanding the orders of Marcellus, was killed by a soldier. Absorbed in his own meditations, he had not heeded

¹ On the obverse, a veiled head of Ceres, and the legend, M. CESTIVS MVNATIVS. On the reverse, Pluto carrying off Proserpine. Bronze coin struck by the *municipium*, MVN HENNAE.

² These Spanish mercenaries were rewarded by the gift of a city, Morgantia, and its territory. (Livy, xxvi. 21.) All captured deserters were decapitated.

the order of the legionary to follow him into the presence of the Roman general. Among the trophies brought to Rome by Marcellus was the sphere of this great geometer.

Livy extols the humanity of Marcellus;¹ according to more credible accounts, Syracuse was given over to the soldiers, and the inhabitants, despoiled of their lands, had reason to envy their own slaves. It was forbidden, as it had been in the time of Dionysius the Elder, to reside in the Island of Ortygia, whence the rest of the city could be commanded (212).²

Syracuse having fallen, Carthage limited her efforts in Sicily to the defence of those places which had declared against Rome. Mutines, a Liby-Phoenician who had been trained under Hannibal, inflicted two severe checks upon Marcellus. He was shortly after superseded by Hanno, who at once suffered defeat.

Irritated by renewed injuries, Mutines delivered up to the consul Laevinus the stronghold of Agrigentum. The principal citizens of the town were put to death and the remainder sold; and the Carthaginians, who now retained but a few unimportant places, abandoned the island finally. Laevinus disarmed the Sicilians, recompensed the partisans of Rome, cruelly punished those adhering to Carthage, and required all now to turn their attention to agriculture, in order to furnish food for starving Rome (210).⁵

In Sicily, as in Greece, Hannibal's plans had failed; in Sardinia the Carthaginians had disappeared; in Spain Hasdrubal and

MARCELLUS.³COIN OF SYRACUSE.⁴

¹ Livy, xxv. 40. He says, however: *Urbs diripienda militi data.* (*Ibid*, 31.)

² Cicero, II. *in Ferr.* v. 32, 38.

³ Visconti, *Iconog. romaine.*

⁴ Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, and a monogram. Diana, the huntress, and her dog. Silver coin of Syracuse.

⁵ Want was so great at Rome, that the measure of corn was worth 15 drachmas, and the Senate sent as far as Egypt to obtain food. (Polybius, ix. 18.)

Mago could not get as far as the Pyrenees; in Italy the Gauls were forgetting the Punic War, and Capua, still blockaded, was shortly to expiate her treason. Himself withdrawn into Apulia, Hannibal had nothing to hope except from the exhaustion and lassitude of Rome. But Rome was a prodigy of skill and endurance; to the alliance of Hannibal with Philip and with Syracuse she had opposed for her part an alliance with the Celtiberians,



THE OLD WALLS OF AGRIGENTUM.

with Syphax, the King of Numidia, with Ptolemy, and with some of the Greek states. In the year 213 she had twenty legions under arms; in 212 and 211 she had twenty-three. By the taking of Arpi, where a thousand men of that precious cavalry which made the strength of the Carthaginian general passed over to the Romans, by the loss of many places in Lucania and Bruttium. Hannibal found himself so closely shut in that the Senate ventured to recall the two consular armies for the purpose of sending them against Capua. The Romans had not been willing to attack this

city seriously until their strength was such as to insure a conspicuous vengeance.

Hannibal seemed crushed; suddenly he emerges from his inactivity, and reappears more threatening, more formidable than before. He strikes repeated blows, surprises Tarentum,¹ brings back to his alliance the larger proportion of the people of Lucania and Bruttium, and what he dared not do after Thrasimene or after Cannae, he is now about to attempt.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX AT AGRIGENTUM (RESTORED WITH THE ACTUAL FRAGMENTS OF THE TEMPLE).

From the height of their walls the Romans will soon see him encamped within 40 stadia of the city. This he does to save his best allies, and that he may profit by the self-confidence of the Roman generals.

The Senate had required hostages of Tarentum, and these persons were kept shut up at Rome in the *atrium* of the Temple of

¹ Livy, xxv. 17.

Liberty. Gaining over two of their keepers, they fled, but were retaken before they had gone beyond Terracina. The Roman people, at this moment struck by superstitious terrors, were not inclined to mercy. The temples consecrated to Fortune and to Hope had just been burned, and threatening prodigies were reported on every hand. Moreover, this escape of the hostages, which had been planned by a Tarentine ambassador, was the token of an approaching defection; the hostages were beaten with rods, and then thrown from the Tarpeian rock. They belonged to the best families of their city, and the plan was at once formed of avenging them. Thirteen young nobles of Tarentum, led by Philemenus and Nico, leagued themselves to deliver Tarentum into the hands of the Carthaginians, who were encamped in the vicinity. Carrying boar-spears and nets, and accompanied by dogs, they left the city under pretext of a hunt, and at once sought Hannibal's camp and revealed to him their design. Many times they repeated this device; as they always came back with much game, which Hannibal had caused to be collected for them along their road, no suspicion was awakened, and they had time to decide upon all the conditions of their treaty, which were as follows: Tarentum should retain her own laws, her property, and her liberty, with exemption from all tribute; she should not be forced to receive a Carthaginian garrison, but she should give up the Roman garrison.

The arrangements being finally completed, the young men, on their return one night, murdered the guards who admitted them, and opened the gates to Hannibal and his army. All the Romans who had not time to take refuge in the citadel were massacred. This citadel, built upon a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, was extremely strong, and a wall with a broad deep moat separated it from the city. To take it, a formal siege would have been required, and a considerable length of time, which Hannibal could not spare, for the cries for help from Campania were now many and urgent (212).

Capua had derived no advantage from her alliance with Hannibal. Hemmed in by the neighboring cities, which had remained faithful to Rome, threatened by the legions which were posted not far away, she saw her commerce destroyed, her agriculture ruined, and, in the midst of the most fertile fields of Italy, she was

reduced to beg food from the Carthaginians. Hannibal, detained by the siege of the citadel of Tarentum, charged Hanno, one of his lieutenants, to revictual Capua. But the colonists of Beneventum gave information of Hanno's march to the consul Fulvius, encamped near by at Bovianum, and Hanno, suddenly attacked, lost thirteen thousand men and all his convoy.¹ The bad effect of this defeat it was necessary at once to counteract; Hannibal himself set out for Capua, and no man dared bar his way. Two thousand horse preceded him, and drove the Roman foragers away from the neighborhood of the city; at the mere report of his approach the consuls fell back, one retreating towards Cumae, the other into Apulia. He goes in pursuit of the latter, and, not able to reach him, takes his revenge upon Centenius, to whom 15,000 men had been intrusted, not one of whom escaped, and upon Fulvius, the praetor, who loses 16,000 men near Herdonea.² Shortly before this, Gracchus, drawn by a Lucanian into an ambuscade, had perished, and his army of slaves had been dispersed.³ A few months before, the Scipios had been defeated and slain in Spain. The capture of Syracuse, it will be seen, did not compensate for so many losses.

The Romans hastened to resume the prudent policy of Fabius; but, with their habitual tenacity, they re-commenced the blockade of Capua. As soon as Hannibal had quitted Campania, the two consuls and a praetor, with a large army, made their plans to put an end to this city which had dared to give the signal for defections; and, not to be disturbed while engaged upon their revenge, they shut themselves in as in a fortress, building a double wall and digging a moat to shelter the camp against sorties and attacks from without. The supplies of this entrenched camp were secured by means of vessels from Sardinia and Etruria, provisions landed at Puteoli or at the mouth of the Volturnus being transported by the river as far as the strong town of Casilinum, where were established the magazines of the army.

The Roman Senate had yet in Capua some faithful friends;

¹ [It seems that the Capuans neglected to meet Hanno's convoy according to his directions; it was the second attempt which Fulvius found out and defeated. — *Ed.*]

² [These two complete victories are seldom mentioned in the list of Hannibal's triumphs. — *Ed.*]

³ App., vii. 35. See in Livy (xxv. 17) the honors paid him by Hannibal, — the dancing, in Spanish fashion, around the funeral pyre, etc.

in 213 as many as a hundred and twelve of the young nobility had come over into the Roman lines; it was hoped that others might be incited to desert in the present year (211). The siege works were not yet completed, when a herald was sent to the Campanians with this declaration: "All those who before the ides of March shall come out from the city shall save their liberty and their possessions."

This was but another way of indicating the fate reserved for the rest. They knew it well; and the leaders of the popular party, who were the masters of Capua, had no hope that Rome would pass over their treason. They organized, therefore, a system of intimidation, and put at the head of affairs, as *meddix tuticus*, a man of low birth, adored by the populace for his harangues against the wealth and treachery of the great. No man dared respond to the Senate's last appeal.

These skirmishes around Capua gave rise to a military novelty. The centurion Q. Novius devised the plan of sending out foot-soldiers, selected from the most athletic and active, to fight among the cavalry. Armed with a short buckler and seven javelins, they were seated behind the trooper on horseback, and on encountering the enemy were to leap to the ground and fight on foot. Thus the Campanians had to contend at once with foot-soldiers, whose swift darts wounded or killed many men and horses, and cavalry who drove home the attack upon their disordered ranks. "From this time," adds Livy, "the Roman cavalry had the advantage over that of Capua."¹

Hannibal meanwhile had returned to Tarentum to urge the siege of the citadel; but as he knew no better than did the Romans that method which the Greeks had already so successfully employed of storming a fortified place, it still held out against him. The Carthaginian general, therefore, endeavored to compensate himself by taking Brundisium, which would have given him a useful harbor upon the Adriatic; but the attempt was unsuccessful. About this time, being informed by some Numidians who had escaped from Capua that the city was about to surrender to the

¹ Livy, xxvi. 4. I do not believe, as Livy seems to say, that the corps of *velites* was then for the first time formed; I think that a portion of them were selected for a new service. The legions could not have done without light infantry until so late as this (211).



CASTEL GANDOLFO.

Romans, he hastened thither; the inhabitants, seeing his troops upon the heights of Mount Tifata, adjacent to the town, believed themselves safe again. But in vain did Hannibal fling himself against the Roman entrenchments. He had thirty-three elephants; some of these, killed under the walls, filled up the moat with their bodies; it made a bridge, and a Spanish cohort succeeded in crossing upon it; but the assailants were driven back, while a sortie of the besieged at the same moment was repulsed. Upon this, Hannibal now finding himself unable to live in this wasted country, and consequently unable to take up a position before this impregnable camp, conceived the audacious project of relieving Capua by making a sudden attack upon Rome. For five days he had been in the neighborhood of the legions; scarcely had the sixth night wrapped the two camps in its darkness, when he silently moves away, leaving all his camp-fires burning.

Preceded by his Numidians, who serve as scouts and detain all couriers, he advances by rapid marches through Samnium.¹ The Appian and the Latin roads are shorter, but more frequented, and he is anxious to arrive before it is known that he has set out for Rome. Either the city, defenceless, will fall into his hands, or Appius, recalled from Capua to the succor of the Capitol, will be defeated on the road; should Appius bring up but half of his troops in order not to raise the siege, Hannibal can the more easily crush the succoring force, or else will let it pass and break up the camp. In any case, Capua should be delivered. In this plan everything had been reckoned on, except the invincible firmness of the Romans [and the cowardice of the Capuans]. When Hannibal appeared,² the Senate recalled not one single cohort; the whole population rushed to defend the walls,³ and two new legions drilling in the city came out boldly to meet the enemy.

¹ Here, as usual, I follow Polybius (ix. 2) rather than Livy; the latter says that Hannibal, marching upon Rome, went by the Latin road. But he has mastered only half of Hannibal's plan. On his return, he must have taken this route. Moreover, Livy is aware that the old historian Caelius Antipater says that Hannibal went from Campania into Samnium; and he adds (xxvi. 14) that it is uncertain whether it was going or returning that he took this road.

² At three leagues from Rome, on the banks of the Anio. Once he pushed forward as far as the Esquiline Gate. Silius Italicus describes him contemplating the vast city from the top of a hill: *lentus celsis adstans in collibus intrat urbem oculis*. (xii. 488.)

³ Shortly before this commissioners had been appointed to repair the walls and towers.

We should like to believe what Livy adds, that the same day a corps of cavalry was sent off to the army in Spain, and that the ground where the Carthaginians were encamped, being put up at auction in the Forum, found a purchaser at the usual valuation; but the departure of cavalry would have been an imprudence, and the sale a bravado, for which the Romans were not at this time in the mood.



REGION CALLED THE CAMP OF HANNIBAL, AT ROCCA DI PAPA.¹

For Hannibal, the dash upon Rome had failed; but he did not doubt that Appian was coming, and he waited for him five days, spreading frightful devastation all around the city. When, according to his calculations, Appian was half way towards Rome, the Carthaginian general hastened his return to Capua by the shortest route (the *Via Latina*), leaving the consuls and their recruits to believe that he fled before them. But the Romans had never let go their prey; Appian had remained in his entrench-

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* at Paris.

ments! Thus Hannibal only took vengeance upon the Roman force that had followed him: one night he fell upon their camp and slew a large number; and finally he retreated towards Rhegium, not to hear the despairing cries for help that came from the city he had not been able to save.

When the descendants of the Romans of the heroic age sought in the environs of their city the place where the formidable Car-



TEMPLE OF THE GOD REDICULUS.¹

thaginian had stopped, they found no more suitable site for his camp than that Alban Mount, whose volcanoes had once shaken all Italy; and a wide field sloping towards the crater of the Monte Albano below Rocca di Papa became, and has remained, "the camp of Hannibal." From these heights (Castel Gandolfo), covered with trees centuries old, whose predecessors doubtless sheltered the hero, he was able to view at his feet the Latin

¹ From a restoration by M. Thomas, *École des Beaux-Arts*.

plain, the seven hills, and the strong wall of Servius which sheltered this indomitable people from his attack.¹

Festus asserts that the Romans, proud that Hannibal should have fallen back so far after having dared so much, built in front of the Porta Capena a temple to Ridicule. There still exist in the neighborhood of the circus of Caracalla some ruins bearing that name. But the *deus Rediculus* was originally only the god who brings back (*redire*);² the Romans did not laugh at Hannibal.³

Capua opened her gates (211). The chastisement was terrible. Before the entry of the Romans, thirty senators gathered at the house of one of their number. Vibius Virrius had caused a banquet



FAUNUS AND TUTANUS (DEUS REDICULUS).⁴

to be prepared with what was left of Falernian wine and the provisions of the siege. At the close, they bade one another adieu; the last cup was a poisoned draught. Others counted on the generosity of the Romans; and Livy asserts that the Senate had decided to pardon them, but that the proconsul, forestalling the messenger who brought the good news, ordered their execution before reading the despatch. We must make due allowance for the Roman severity and the manners of the time; the Capuans were to suffer

what their enemies would have suffered had the case been reversed.

¹ [According to other accounts, he approached within 3 leagues of the city. — *Ed.*]

² This god, an old Pelasgic divinity, was also called Tutanus (Varro, *ap. Nonius*, 33), or the Protector; under the title of *Pâscinum* he turned away spells and dangers. Faunus was also a protecting divinity.

³ [This is the very improbable account of Polybius, probably invented by Roman vanity. According to Livy (xxxvi. 8), the proconsul, Q. Fulvius, who is the hero of the hour, brought up 16,000 men just in time to the *porta Capena*, and saved Rome from a panic which left an indelible remembrance for centuries to come. He was put in command of all the city forces, over the consuls. Appian adds that it was owing to his watchfulness that the Roman army pursuing Hannibal was saved from annihilation in his night attack. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.* pp. 440-442. — *Ed.*]

⁴ Double Hermes, bearing united the head of Faunus, crowned with ivy, and of Mutunus Tutanus, winged and crowned. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,277.

Sevénty senators were beheaded. When the execution was ended, a Campanian, Jubellius Taurea, approached Fulvius, relates the historian, and cried out to him, "Since thou art so thirsty for our blood, why not strike me thyself, that thou mayest boast of having killed a braver man than thou?" "I should like well to do it," Fulvius rejoined; "but a decree of the Senate forbids." "Well, then," rejoined Jubellius, "I will show thee something that thou wouldst not have the courage to do;" whereupon he killed his wife, his children, and lastly himself.¹ Three hundred nobles were condemned to chains, all the people sold, and the city and its territory declared Roman property. Some senators are said even to have proposed effacing to the last vestige the city which had dreamed of being mistress of Italy. Atella and Calatia had the same fate. For years these fertile regions were to be inhabited only by poor laborers or by farmers and gangs of slaves belonging to the Roman nobility; and where once rose flourishing cities there never again was known the pride and delight of the ancients,—municipal life. No more *curia*, no more magistrates, no more public assemblies; the rich and splendid Capua was reduced to be only a haunt of laborers, *receptaculum aratorum*, a depot for harvests, *locus condendis fructibus*. Year by year a praetor brought thither the law and will of Rome.² Such was the terrible practice of war in ancient times; it made many victims, but it produced also the indomitable resistance and the fierce, ardent patriotism of a Jubellius Taurea.

The sons of some of the senators slain at Capua essayed to avenge their fathers and their country. The evening before a festival of Minerva they set fire to Rome at several parts of the Forum. All night and the following day fire raged in the city, and Rome would have been entirely consumed, had not a slave given information of the plot, and caused the arrest of the incendiaries. Entrance into the city was at once forbidden to all Campanians.

The following year (210) the levies were made with difficulty; three years earlier it had been necessary to send commissioners among the allies to enroll the young men before the age of military service. This time they were able to collect only twenty-one legions; and to equip the fleet of Laevinus, destined for Sicily, the

¹ Val. Max. III. ii. 24, 1.

² Cicero, *de Leg. agr.* 32, 33; Livy, xxvi. 16.

senators brought into the treasury all the gold, silver, and bronze that they possessed. One of the new consuls was Marcellus. On his return from Sicily with the spoils of Syracuse, he had asked for a triumph; but only an ovation was granted him. He hoped this year for more distinguished success. "He who has been able to conquer the Carthaginians after Cannae," he wrote to the Senate, "will not let this man long exult over his last victory." He began well by the recapture of Salapia, whose Carthaginian garrison, five hundred Numidians, were put to the sword. At this very moment Hannibal, in the neighborhood of Herdonea, was destroying a praetor and thirteen thousand legionaries, — the second victory obtained by him near that city. It seemed that he would have respected this scene of his two victories. But the inhabitants had called in Fulvius, and Hannibal, for his part, desired to give a sharp lesson to those who proved unfaithful: the partisans of Rome were put to death, the city destroyed, and the surviving inhabitants transported to Thurium and Metapontum. Marcellus hastened to meet him, and a battle took place at Numistro; but notwithstanding the promises made by Marcellus, the combat remained indecisive; the Romans, however, were able to hold the field and to burn their dead, which gave them reason to speak of this engagement as a victory. A later writer, less occupied than Livy with the glory of Roman families and the honor of Marcellus, says that Hannibal skilfully posted himself between two sunken pathways which protected his flanks, and that he forced the consul to fall back.¹ A squadron attempting to revictual the citadel of Tarentum was destroyed about this time; but the brave garrison still continued their heroic resistance, and by successful sorties kept the effeminate city in perpetual alarm. The situation remained the same. Meanwhile Rome rallied slowly; nothing had made amends to Hannibal for the loss of Capua and of Sicily: Scipio in Spain was reorganizing the Roman army; the Carthaginians, driven out of Samnium and Campania, had not a single great city upon which to rest, and their formidable chief had no other defence outside of his camp than the terror with which he inspired his adversaries.

The year 209 brought back Fabius, the Cunctator, to the con-

¹ Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii. 2, 6.

sular office. While his colleague, Fulvius, guarded Campania and Samnium from his position at Beneventum; while the garrison at Rhegium was keeping the attention of Hannibal's lieutenants fixed upon the extremity of Bruttium; and while Marcellus detained the Carthaginian leader at Canusium with three engagements upon three successive days, — Fabius advanced rapidly upon Tarentum, and crowned his brilliant military career by the recapture of that city. Tarentum was treated as Capua had been: thirty thousand of her citizens were sold,¹ and Fabius poured 3,000 talents into the treasury at Rome. The same year Scipio entered Carthagera.

The Senate were already practising the policy summed up by the poet: . . . *parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. Tarentum and Capua were roughly handled on account of their importance; but the same Fabius who so sternly carried out the Senate's decrees against Capua, received kindly the Hirpini, the Lucanians, and the Volcentes, only gently blaming them for the misconduct of which they were now repenting. This was done to encourage treachery towards the Carthaginians; these nations had given up the Carthaginian garrisons posted in their towns.² By such judicious moderation, Fabius well nigh gained the whole of Bruttium.³

The following year (208), Marcellus, being again consul, and his colleague Crispinus thought they could deal Hannibal a crushing blow, since the Carthaginian had not one fortified place left to him in Apulia. But upon the opening of the campaign, Marcellus fell into an ambushade while reconnoitring imprudently, and was slain with the principal officers of his army. "A brave soldier," Hannibal said, on viewing his dead body, "but a poor general." However, he made a stately funeral for him, and placed upon the urn containing his ashes, a golden wreath, which was afterward sent to the son of the dead general.⁴ Crispinus, though severely wounded, had time to inform the adjacent cities

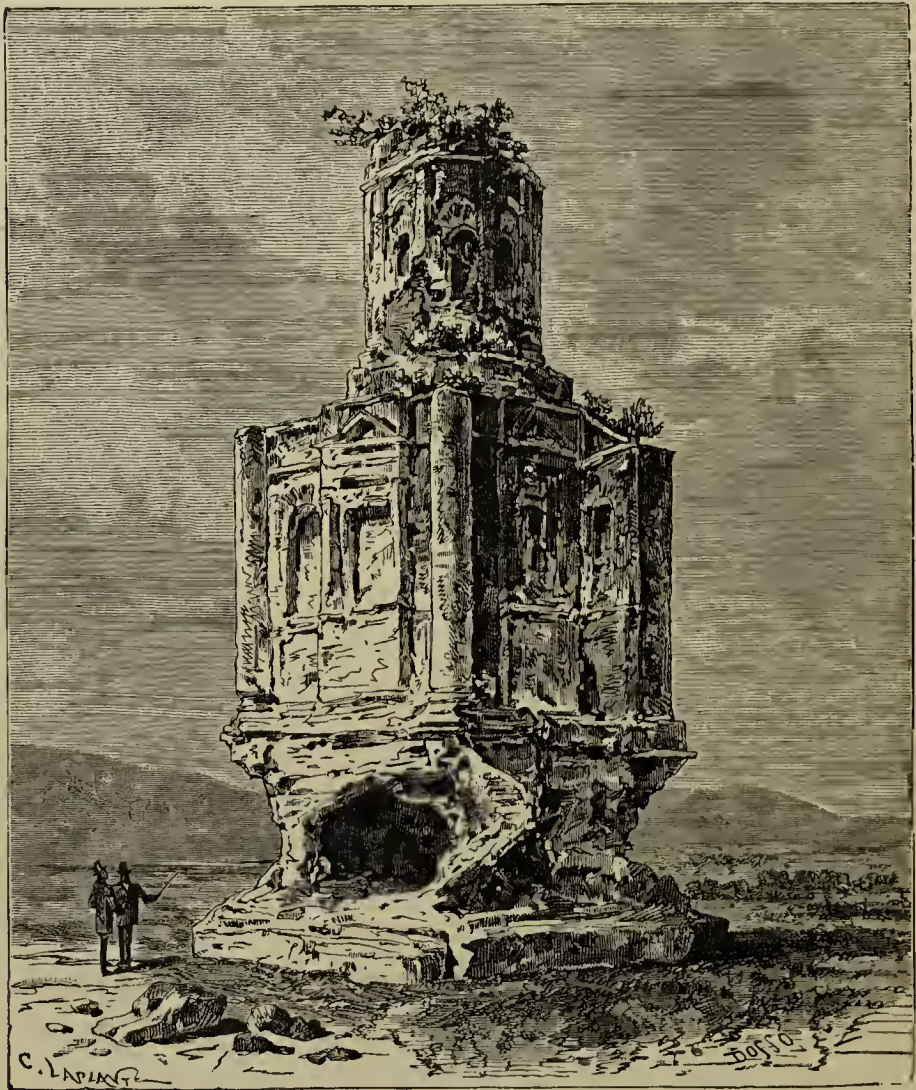
¹ Polybius, x. 1; Livy, xxvii. 16; Plut., *Fab.* 21, *seq.*; Zonaras, ix. 8.

² In pursuance of this plan, the Senate had granted the right of citizenship to Mutines the Libyan, and to Merieus, the Spaniard who had betrayed Aehradina. Mutines appears later in command of the Numidian cavalry and the elephants in the army of the Scipios against Antiochus in 190. (Livy, xxxviii. 41.)

³ Livy, xxvii. 15.

⁴ The Museum of the Capitol contains a statue said to be of Marcellus; but the head does not seem to resemble that on the coins.

that Hannibal, being in possession of the signet ring of Marcellus, would probably seek to surprise them; and this precaution succeeded. In an attempt upon Salapia, the stratagem being detected, he was repulsed with a loss of six hundred men. He succeeded, however, in raising the siege of Locri, which the Romans had this time begun with engines of war supplied by the Greeks in Sicily.



ANCIENT TOMB CALLED DELLA CANNOCHIA, NEAR CAPUA.¹

Meanwhile, the allies of Rome were growing very weary of this murderous war. For eleven years Hannibal had been in Italy manœuvring with his scanty force amidst fourteen legions, outwitting the most experienced consuls, and as free in his movements, amid so many armies and fortified towns, as if the Romans had

¹ *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris), cabinet of engravings.

remained shut up behind their own walls. His victories had not been able to raise Italy in arms against them, nor to triumph over their firm resolve; but the courage of the allies was beginning to give way. The warlike peoples of Central Italy did not yet murmur, but in the north the Etruscans and Umbrians threatened defection. It became necessary to make sure of the Senate of Arretium, and to send an army to keep these nations under control.¹

At Rome, the number of citizens had been reduced from 270,000 to 137,000.² Money was required for the fleet and for the army. Once more there was a general rivalry in patriotic devotion, and the Senate resolved to employ the treasure kept for moments of extreme necessity. The *aurum vicesimarium*, which was the twentieth part of the price of enfranchised slaves, had produced, since the decree of 357 which had established that tax, the sum of 4,000 pounds of gold, which to-day would be worth nearly \$860,000, and at that time was a very much more important sum. To all the political and military qualities which caused the triumph of Rome, we must add that far-reaching sagacity of the greatest administrative nation of antiquity, which had prepared so long in advance this resource against evil days. Twelve colonies made reply that they had neither soldiers nor money; and the Senate, powerless against them, took care to keep the matter quiet. Fortunately, eighteen others gave all that was required. "This devotion," says Livy, "saved Rome once more."

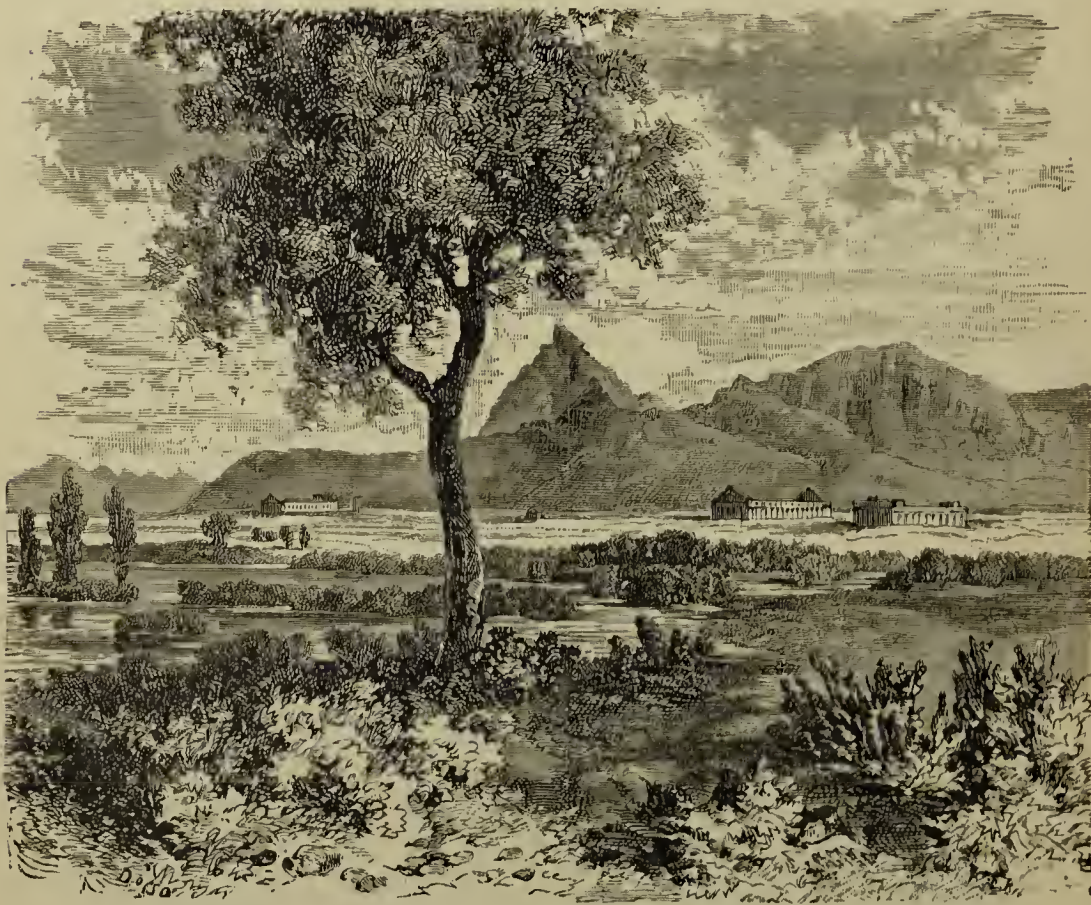
Their names should have been honored, and Rome would have done well to engrave them in letters of gold upon the walls of her Capitol. The cities were in general those which, having suffered most from the evils of war, were most desirous to bring it to an end, — Signia, Norba, Saticula, and Frégellæ in the south of Latium; Cosa, Paestum, and Pontia upon the Tyrrhenian Sea; Luceria and Venusia in Apulia; Beneventum, Aesernia, Spoleto in Samnium; Brundisium, Adria, Firmum, and Ariminum, which, situated on the Adriatic, had reason to fear Carthaginian pirates;

¹ Varro, the general vanquished at Cannæ, was in command. (Livy, xxvii. 24.)

² This estimate is very probably incorrect, for the next censors found 214,000 citizens. (Livy, xxix. 37.) Populations diminish less during great wars than is believed. In 1791 the population of France was 26,343,074, according to the Committee of the Constituent Assembly. In 1815, after twenty-four years of battles, it had increased three millions, and by official report had attained the number of 29,226,000.

and lastly the colonies on the River Po, Cremona and Placentia, whose existence could only be secured by Rome. Those which had refused their assistance were nearly all of them much nearer Rome, — Nepete, Sutrium, Carseoli, and Narnia on the north, Alba, Ardea, Sora, Circei, Interamna, Setia, and Cales on the south.

At the moment when threatening signs of fatigue were mani-



RUINS OF PAESTUM.¹

fest among the Latin allies, Rome was exposed to greater dangers than she had ever before incurred. P. Scipio, who had been successful in Spain, had now suffered Hasdrubal to escape him; and the latter was advancing upon the Alps with an army increased upon the way by Gallic mercenaries. Notified by public rumor, Hannibal collected all his garrisons scattered throughout Bruttium, and set out through Apulia to meet his brother.

At Rome, in order to prepare against this new peril, the

¹ This general view of Paestum, clearly showing the situation of her three temples, represents the ruins as they appeared in 1750, at which time they were brought to the notice of the artistic and scientific world. Engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris).

Senate annulled the exemption enjoyed by the maritime colonies, called in the disbanded volunteers (*volones*), and called home several corps of picked men. Scipio sent ten thousand men and a thousand cavalry; the praetor of Sicily four thousand archers and slingers. In taxing to the utmost all their resources, the consuls were able



CASCADE OF THE LIRIS BELOW SORA, AFTER ITS JUNCTION WITH THE FIBRENNUS.¹

to collect a hundred thousand legionaries. Besides this, a fortified camp outside of Narnia defended the road through Umbria to Rome (207).

Of the two consuls, one, C. Claudius Nero, had not up to this time signalized himself by any brilliant exploits. He had served under Marcellus, and had the fiery courage of that leader, together with an audacity akin to rashness. The other consul, Livius, condemned eight years before on retiring from the consulate [for

¹ From the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris). Cicero had a villa on an island in the Fibrenus, near by, where he wrote his treatise, *De Legibus*. See the charming description he gives of the place in this treatise (ii. 1, 3).

peculation of booty in the second Illyrian war] by one of those decisions of the people which the spirit of faction inspires, had quitted Rome and lived in the country, an embittered hermit, suffering in all the woes of his ungrateful country, but refusing the succor of his strength and experience. The consuls Marcellus and Laevinus triumphed at last over this persistent grief. They



APOLLO OF THE VATICAN.¹

compelled him to shave and to lay aside his mourning, and to return to his place among the senators, who laid upon him for the second time the duties of the consulship. Nero and Livius had been enemies; but the public peril and the appeals of the Senate re-united them. Upon the approach of those great events which the year 207 was to witness, disastrous presages multiplied on every hand. At Caere a vulture flew into the temple of Jupiter; at Cumae rats gnawed the golden ornaments of the statue of the

god; the Lake of Volsinia flowed with blood; stones fell from heaven; thunderbolts smote the temples of the gods and the walls and gates of the city.

To meet these dangers, and as if a breath from Greece had

¹ Statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino.

reached Rome, choirs of young girls, chanting through the city verses composed by the poet Andronicus, accomplished the expiations. "After a pure, chaste sacrifice offered by matrons, a procession set out from the temple of Apollo. Two white heifers came first; behind them were borne two cypress-wood statues of Jmo Regina. Then came twenty-seven young girls in trailing garments singing hymns in honor of the goddess. The decenvirs,¹ crowned with laurel and clad in the praetexta, followed the chorus of maidens. From the Porta Carmentalis the procession marched to the Forum, where the young girls performed sacred dances, singing in cadence." (Livy.)

Meantime Hannibal was seeking to break through the three Roman armies, which from Capua, from Venusia, and from Tarentum barred his way into Upper Italy. Nero had frequently commanded the cavalry of a consular army; he knew how to send out scouting parties and to lay ambushes; near Grumentum he prepared an ambush for the Carthaginians, into which their leader fell, as far as Hannibal could fall; it was a success for the Romans, but not a victory. Falling back as far as Metapontum, Hannibal took up a position in the neighborhood of Canusium, near the scene of his most brilliant victory, and awaited in an entrenched camp the arrival of messengers from his brother.³

The latter had crossed the Alps prosperously, and was now in the Cisalpine at the head of fifty-two thousand fighting men, to whom eight thousand Ligurians had lately been added. Instead of hastening his march to bring his brother this reinforcement of 60,000 men, he stopped to besiege Placentia; and when, recognizing his error and the impossibility of taking the city, he finally set forward into



PONTIFEX VEILED
AND LAUREL-
CROWNED.²



COIN OF
CANUSIUM.⁴

¹ *Decemviri sacris faciundis*. They had charge of the Sibylline books.

² Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,962 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

³ [On the contrary, Nero had conducted the campaign with great ill-success, and had allowed Hannibal, with a weaker army, to out-manceuvre him, and force him up all the way from Bruttium to the Aufidus. — *Ed.*]

⁴ Two vases and a lyre. Silver coin.

Umbria, it was too late. Livius barred the way, and Nero was encamped before Hannibal. Hasdrubal had intrusted six Numidian and Gallic horsemen with letters for his brother; but [after passing all through Italy] they fell in with the outposts of Nero. So much had been conceded to prudence hitherto, that Nero was now tempted to seek for victory from audacity; he therefore took the boldest resolution of the war; namely, to leave his camp before Hannibal, and to bring 7,000 of his best troops to his colleague.¹ The plan was not so rash as it seemed. Hannibal, after two defeats, had just been executing between the Gulf of Tarentum and the banks of the Aufidus a series of marches and counter-marches, during which he had never been able to get the advantage by any neglect or error on the part of his adversary. He, therefore, in turn was condemned to prudence. A Roman camp was not easily to be taken by storm. The Carthaginians, skilful as they were in the open country, did not know how to carry by main strength a strongly fortified position. Nero felt sure that his camp, even deprived of the best of the legionaries, could hold out until his return. He left there, besides soldiers who had seen Hannibal retreat, also arms and munitions in plenty, and great hopes for the future. To reach the other army he had first to cross the plain which extends from the Aufidus to the Frento, between the Apennine chain and the huge bulk of Mount Garganus:² this was the difficult point of the enterprise. But midway stood the fortified town of Luceria, where the expedition could find support in case of need; beyond, they would come into a friendly country, from which, since Cannae, the Carthaginians had been excluded. It was only necessary, therefore, to conceal from the enemy a day's march or two, and the outgoing expedition would be safe, as well as the camp they left behind them.

Nero announced to the Senate his design; he gave orders to the two legions in the city to march out and occupy the strong position of Narnia, which closes the Valley of the Tiber; to the legion at Campania to return to Rome; and to the people of the

¹ Frontinus, *Strateg.* I. i. 9. Livy (xxvii. 43) says six thousand infantry and a thousand horse; but he adds that Nero's force was increased upon the road by many veterans and volunteers. [This is only the Roman account. — *Ed.*]

² The illustration represents the site at the foot of Mount Garganus where stood in ancient times the city of Merinum, five miles from the modern city of Vietri.

country through which he should pass to have ready along the way provisions and transports. The rumor that a fresh and formidable African army was to bring fire and sword and slavery once more into their land had struck terror to the hearts of all. The orders of the consul were obeyed with promptness. The inhabitants ran eagerly to meet these soldiers whom they held to be the saviors of Italy, and every man brought what he had for men and horses, so that nothing detained the march; in six days,¹ they had made more than 260 miles,² and Nero came up with his colleague on the banks of the Metaurus. Not to give the alarm to the enemy, he entered the camp by night, and made no addition to its extent, his soldiers being received into the tents of their comrades. But in the morning the trumpeters sounded twice, and by this Hasdrubal became aware that the two consuls were there together; his pickets also reported that there were to be seen in the enemy's camp old bucklers, lean horses, and faces sun-burned as by recent marching. He believed his brother defeated, possibly killed, and all the forces of Rome gathered against himself. He retreated, his guides led him astray and abandoned him, and he was overtaken by the consuls. Being obliged to fight, Hasdrubal drew up his forces, with the Gauls on the left, protected by a hill and a ravine, and the Ligurians in the centre; while he himself with his Spanish troops held the right. Facing him, on the Roman left, the consul Livius was in command; the praetor, Porcius, with the light troops, was in the centre; and Nero, on the Roman right, was opposite the Gauls. The battle opened with a furious conflict between Livius and Hasdrubal, during which the troops of Nero were

ROMAN TRUMPETER.³

¹ Possibly seven; for Nero was six days in returning, and Livy says that he marched more rapidly on the return, — *citatiore quam inde venerat agmine* (xxvii. 50).

² The distance between the Metaurus and Canusium is 285 Roman miles, or 422 kilometres, which gives about 70 kilometres, or 45 miles, for each of the six days' marches.

³ Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,065.

not engaged, being unable to reach the Gauls. Chafing at this enforced inactivity, Nero suddenly shifted to his left, behind the entire Roman army, and came out upon the flank and rear of Hasdrubal, still hotly engaged with the troops of Livius. The movement was as much a surprise to the Romans as to the enemy, and turned the fortune of the day. The Spaniards and Ligurians, thus surrounded, were cut to pieces; and at last the slaughter reached even to the Gauls, who made but little resistance. Hasdrubal's conduct was most gallant, and his efforts extraordinary to retrieve the disaster. At last, finding that all was lost, he rushed upon a Roman cohort, "and fell fighting," says Livy, "as was worthy the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal." Fifty-six thousand of the enemy were slain, and fifty-four hundred made prisoners; and the battle has been justly considered by Roman historians as the reprisals of Cannae.¹

Nero immediately set out on his return, and reached his camp after an absence of but thirteen or fourteen days. The head of Hasdrubal, thrown into the Carthaginian lines, told Hannibal of this destruction of his last hope. "It is the destiny of Carthage," he is said to have exclaimed bitterly. More justly, however, he might have blamed his own lack of vigilance.

Meanwhile Rome had been a prey to the most cruel anxiety. Every day since news had been received that the consul had left his camp, the senators had remained from sunrise till sunset in the Curia, and the people in the Forum; while the matrons, hastening from temple to temple, wearied the gods with their supplications. A vague report of success, coming two days after the battle, is scarcely credited; then follows a letter with more authentic information, and public excitement is at the highest pitch. Finally is announced the approach of three consular envoys who have been present at the battle. The crowd hastens to meet them as far as the Milvian bridge. They are followed to the Forum, to the Curia, and, mounting the rostra, they relate all the details of the great event.

¹ *Reddita aequa Cannensi clades . . . videbatur.* (Livy, xxvii. 49.) Polybius (xi. 5) says only: ἀπέθανον . . . οὐκ ἔλαττον μύριον. From the sale of the prisoners more than three hundred talents were obtained. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* IV. iv. 4:—

*Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos : occidit, occidit,
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis Hasdrubale interempto.*



THE MONTE GARGANO.

When they tell how many enemies have fallen, how the leader is slain, and how Nero is carrying his head to Hannibal, a great shout answers them back. Then a part of the crowd hastens to the temples to thank the gods; others rush to their homes to relate to the women and children and the old men, to all who have not heard the good news, that Rome is saved, and the Carthaginian general overthrown.

Sheltered in Bruttium, he, however, remained in Italy four years longer, till Scipio dislodged him from that impregnable retreat by himself laying siege to Carthage.

To understand how Hannibal was able to defend himself so long in this region, we must notice its conformation. "The Calabrian peninsula is mountainous and very rugged. . . . The Apennines rise in abrupt escarpments above the zone of forest-trees. Monte Pollino, overlooking the two seas, is higher than the Matese and all the other peaks in the Neapolitan territory; the group of which it is the centre bars the peninsula from one sea to the other, and extends along the shore of the western waters in a wall of rocks more abrupt even than those of Liguria, and much more inaccessible by reason of the complete absence of roads. . . . The deep valley of the Crathis limits on the south and east this first mountain mass, and separates it from a second, less lofty, but more extended at its base; this is the Sila, whose schist and granite cliffs, of much more ancient origin than the Apennines, still keep the gloomy grandeur of their vast forests. South of the Sila rises a third mountain group, well named the Aspromonte, an enormous ridge, scarcely divided into distinct summits, but streaked over its entire extent with reddish ravines, which in winter are the beds of furious torrents. 'The rough mountain,' still thickly wooded, spreads broadly out into the Ionian Sea its promontories, plumed with palm-trees, and finally sinks beneath its waters at a point designated by sailors as the Parting of the Winds (*Spartivento*)."¹

¹ Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, i. 485-486.

CHAPTER XXV.

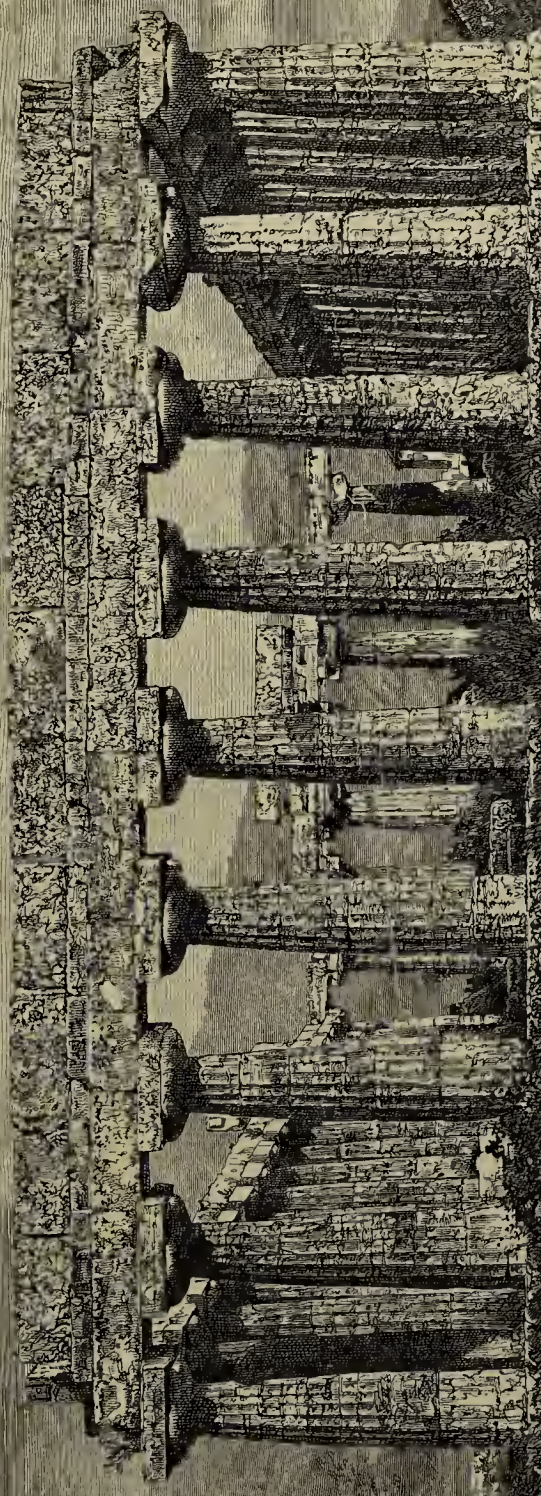
END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR; THE SCIPIOS.

I. OPERATIONS IN SPAIN (218–205).

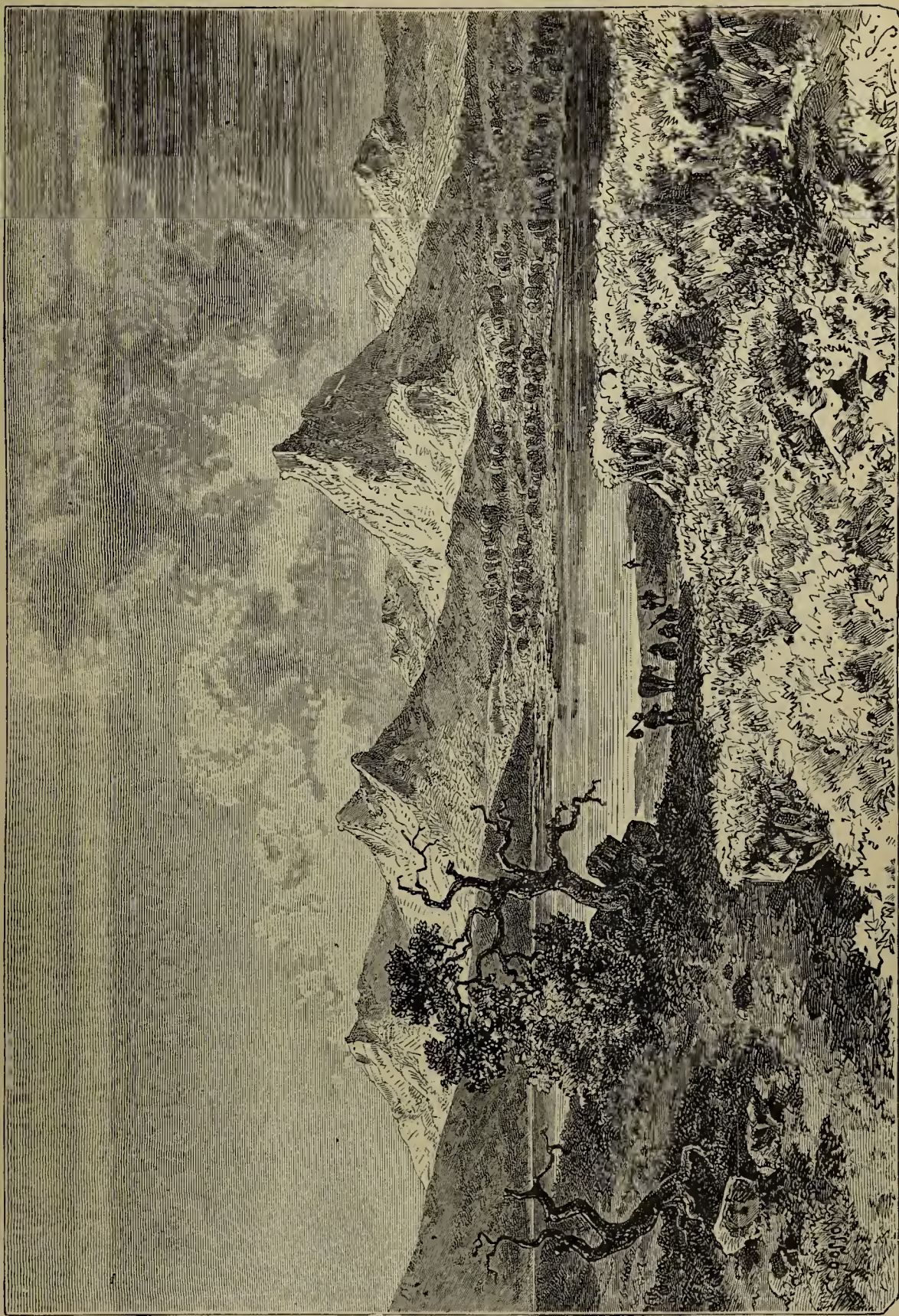
THAT which Hannibal had attempted in Italy, the three Scipios had accomplished in Spain. In 207 the Romans were almost masters of this peninsula. But we must return to a period a few years earlier.

When Cornelius Scipio had found himself forestalled by Hannibal at the passage of the Rhone, he intrusted to his brother Cnaeus his two legions, that the latter might occupy the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, — a region which, recently subject to Rome, and formerly in alliance with her, would doubtless show a friendly disposition. Marseilles, which had covered this coast with her trading-posts, seconded Scipio with all her strength, and the skill of her pilots rendered him at once master of the sea. A single battle gained near Cissa threw the Carthaginians back across the Ebro; and the destruction of Hasdrubal's fleet at the mouth of that river permitted the Romans to ravage all the coast as far as the Straits. These first successes brought defections all over the country; a hundred and twenty cities joined themselves to the Romans, and the Celtiberians, the bravest and most numerous tribe in Spain, fighting alone, defeated Hasdrubal twice. As far as Baetica there were revolts, especially when the Romans, having seized the Spanish hostages detained in Saguntum, sent them away with honor to their own cities.

His term as consul having expired, Cornelius returned to join his brother in Spain with eight thousand men and thirty vessels. Strong in their united skill, they drove Hasdrubal back from the Ebro at the time when Hannibal, after Cannae, called his brother into Italy. Four victories, with the capture of Castulo and of



ONE OF THE RUINS AT PAESTUM, PROBABLY NOT A TEMPLE.



MONTE POLLINO AND THE VALLEY OF THE CRATHIS.

Saguntum, confirmed these earlier successes (215); and the offer of pay to the Celtiberian youth brought numerous auxiliaries to their banners (214). But in Spain, as in Italy, the nature of the country, bristling with mountains and with strongholds, made the war endless. The Scipios, weary with their rapid marches from



TOMB OF THE SCIPIOS (SO CALLED), NEAR TARRAGONA.¹

the Ebro to the Baetis, formed the plan of raising dissensions in Africa to prevent the sending of succor to their adversaries. Three centurions sent to Syphax, king of Western Numidia, gained him to the Roman alliance, disciplined his troops, and caused him to gain a victory over the Carthaginians (213). But this success

¹ De Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*. The ruin is Roman, but could not have been the tomb of those whose name it bears.

turned against them; Carthage, seeing herself menaced, took alarm. A numerous army, led by Masinissa, son of another Numidian king, defeated Syphax, drove him from his kingdom, and then crossed over into Spain, whence the danger had come. The Scipios, threatened by three armies, now saw the Suessetoni and the Celtiberians turn against them. The better to oppose so many adversaries, the two brothers now separated. This was the cause of their ruin; attacked successively and by forces superior to their own, they perished (212). They deserve to share with Fabius the glory of having saved their country, and Rome preserved a grateful memory of their career. Cicero speaks of them as the thunderbolts of war.

Spain seemed to be lost; but Carthage had too many generals to be able to act with unity and decision. The fragments of the two Roman armies, gathered behind the Ebro by a young knight, Marcius by name, had time to recover their courage. Being attacked by Hasdrubal and by Mago, Marcius defeated them both in succession, and followed them across the Ebro;¹ and when in the summer of 211 Nero, after the fall of Capua, came with 13,000 men to take the command, which the Senate was not willing to leave in the hands of a man elected by the soldiers,² Hasdrubal was already driven back into Baetica.³ Shut up in a defile, he deluded Nero by negotiations, and made his escape. But a new general arrived, Publius Scipio, son of Cornelius.

With the lapse of time the life of the conqueror of Hasdrubal has become a marvellous legend. His birth, they say, like that of Alexander, was attended by prodigies; and he himself gave color to these vague stories of a divine origin by passing long hours in the temple of Jupiter. All his words were serious, all his actions seemed to be under the guidance of the gods. No man received so many revelations by visions of the night or inspirations from on high. For him the oracles spoke. At the Trebia he is believed to have saved his father's life; after Cannae

¹ [These defeats are probably much exaggerated by the Roman historians. — *Ed.*]

² Marcius in his letters had taken the title of pro-praetor, and the example was a dangerous one.

³ Polybius, who ranks very high the merits of Hasdrubal, accounts for his defeats by the confusion and difficulties produced by the sending of other generals from Carthage.

he is said to have constrained at the dagger's point one Metellus and other young nobles to swear that they would not abandon Italy. When he presented himself as a candidate for the office of aedile, the tribunes objected that he had not attained the required age. "I am old enough," he said, "if the Romans choose to elect me." This patrician was a *grand seigneur*, who never abased himself to flatter the people, yet was able to obtain from them, even while he defied them, all that he desired. As no other man sought the command of the army in Spain, he asked for it and obtained it, although he was but twenty-four years of age, and had not as yet filled any of the great public offices. In fact, the command in Spain had come to be regarded as a sort of hereditary right both at Rome and at Carthage,—in Rome, falling to the Scipios; in Carthage, to the Barcine family.

Polybius, who believes neither in chance nor in the assistance of the gods, but has great faith in human reason, treats with contempt the superstitious legends current about Scipio. He received from Laelius, the friend and comrade in arms of the hero of Zama, the most intimate details about him, and regards him as a wise man, who made all things, even popular credulity, serve his purpose. "His ingenuity," he says, "in representing his designs as inspired by the gods, gave his army confidence in undertaking the most difficult tasks."²

Upon arriving in Spain, Scipio gained the goodwill of the army by loading with honors and praises their former leader, Marcius; and in order to begin brilliantly, meditated an enterprise which should draw all eyes upon him. Without revealing his design to any one but Laelius, commander of his fleet, he set out from the banks of the Ebro with twenty-four thousand infantry

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.¹

¹ From one of the two busts in green basalt in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 3,290 and 3,291, which reproduce the scars of wounds received by Scipio.

² Polybius, x. 2.

and twenty-five hundred horse, and after seven days' march he pointed out to his army the towers of New Carthage, the arsenal and storehouse of the Barcas. Defended on the one side by the citadel and lofty walls, and on the other by the sea and a lagoon, the place was deemed impregnable. Scipio took it in broad day at the first assault. Some fishermen at Tarragona had informed him that at low tide, especially when the wind blew from the north, the lagoon was fordable.¹ While a sharp attack drew the besieged towards the walls which defended the city on the land side, the hour of low tide came, the water in the lagoon sank away, and five hundred men easily crossed it and scaled the wall beyond. The north wind began to blow just at the moment, and the whole army regarded this as a miracle; Boreas and Neptune, they said, had fought with them (210).²

The soldiers from the fleet rivalled the legionaries in courage: a centurion and a marine disputed the honor of having been the first to scale the wall. They each received a mural crown in presence of the whole army. The rest received large rewards. To Laelius, his friend, who had commanded the fleet, Scipio gave a golden wreath and thirty oxen, with which a banquet was made on board the vessels. But he did not suffer the soldiers to forget their duty in the midst of victory. Every day he drilled them; the fleet had a sham fight or the galleys had races; the land force fought together with blunt javelins; and Polybius describes at great length the difficult manœuvres which were required of the cavalry in order to secure to man and horse the best use of the strength of each, and to the whole squadron rapidity of evolution and power of united action.

The Spanish hostages in the hands of the Carthaginians were detained in the city of Carthagera; Scipio treated them kindly and gave presents to all of them, even to the children; to the boys swords, and bracelets to the girls; then he sent them

¹ At certain points of the Mediterranean coast the tide is very marked, and on the flatness of the shore and the direction of the wind depend the height to which it may rise. In the Adriatic [at Venice] and on the western coast of Sicily it rises from three to nine feet.

² Polybius (x. 2) had himself visited Carthagera; and Laelius had related to him, among other details, that during the assault Scipio went everywhere, accompanied by three soldiers who shielded him with their bucklers against the arrows shot from the wall, and thus the general, seeing everything, could act upon each emergency without delay.

away to their own people. "Some of the soldiers," says Polybius, "who knew their general's weakness, had brought to him a young girl of remarkable beauty." Livy here interposes a love story,—



GREAT DISCUS OF MASSIVE SILVER, CALLED SCIPIO'S BUCKLER.¹

a graceful interlude in the midst of this stern history, where the public man conceals so entirely the private man, that the passions of the individual remain hidden under the *paludamentum*

¹ This discus, one of the treasures of the *Cabinet de France*, weighs over ten kilograms, and was long famous as Scipio's buckler. It does not, however, represent that general restoring his betrothed to Allueius. The subject, taken from the *Iliad*, is the restitution of Briseis to Achilles by Agamemnon, who, placed in the midst of the three portieos, and bearing the sceptre of the king of kings, is the main figure of the scene. Ulysses harangues the son of Peleus, who makes a gesture of assent; Nestor leaning on his staff, and Diomedes listening to the King of Ithaea. A table bears the gifts offered to the hero by Agamemnon, and weapons are scattered before Achilles. No. 2,875 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

of the soldier or the senatorial toga. "Scipio, having inquired in respect to the country and family of the young captive," says the historian, "was informed that she was betrothed to Allucius, chief of the Celtiberians. He sent for Allucius, and said to him: 'I present this captive to you,—a gift worthy of us both,—on the sole condition that you become the friend of the Romans. Know well that there exists upon earth to-day no people whose hatred should be more dreaded by you and yours, or whose friendship should be more desired.' The young chief, overwhelmed with joy, swore by all the gods to pay his debt of gratitude. The father and mother of the young girl wished to constrain Scipio to accept a considerable sum as ransom. He had the money laid at his feet; then said to Allucius: 'Besides the dowry that you receive from your father-in-law, accept this from me.'"

I do not know that the details of this story are authentic; but the fact of the restitution of the hostages certainly is so, and for history that suffices. Allucius, returning to his own country, extolled to his companions the virtues of Scipio, "a man like the immortal gods, who has come into Spain to subjugate all men by his arms and by his clemency." He gathered together his dependants, and a few days later, at the head of 1,400 picked horsemen, returned to join the army of Scipio.¹

The conduct of Scipio was politic, and honorable, which is also a form of good policy; moreover, this favorite of the gods desired to show himself superior to human weaknesses, and to serve his country's interests by this contrast with the arrogance, the exactions, and the outrages of the Carthaginian generals.² As a result, the principal Spanish chiefs, Edeco, Mandonius, and Indibilis brought him their troops, and, in their admiration, they gave him the title of King.

Still Scipio hesitated; the three armies, the three generals, who had conquered and killed his father and his uncle, might again unite. The one nearest to him, Hasdrubal, was encamped between Baecula and Castulo, in the Valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir); he remained there an entire year without calling to him his colleagues, and without making any movement to prevent

¹ Livy, xxvi. 50.

² Polybius, ix. 11.

defections, which multiplied daily. Scipio marched against him in the summer of the year 209, and defeated him in a battle which cost the Carthaginians more than 20,000 men killed or taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this, Hasdrubal traversed the whole of Spain, and, deprived of his army, he accomplished that which as a conqueror he had not been able to do, he crossed the Pyrenees, Scipio no longer disputing with him the way. According to Polybius, Hasdrubal had for a long time been preparing this expedition: before his defeat was entire he made his escape with his elephants, his treasure, and a few soldiers,¹ made a *détour* through the Valley of the Tagus, in order to mislead Scipio's pursuit, and by the western Pyrenees came down into Gaul, where he remained in concealment for more than a year.² Scipio and Rome forgot him. But the storm gathered slowly; and when in 207 Hasdrubal came over the Alps with 52,000 fighting men, Scipio was accused of having let loose upon Rome a danger which he had not dared himself to encounter. The assertion was a calumny, for he had reason to believe that he had provided for everything in guarding, by means of an army of 8,000 men, strongly encamped at Sucro, the eastern passes of the Pyrenees,—that is to say, the only road which appeared practicable for an army seeking to advance upon Italy. He had, moreover, lost track of the fugitive of Baecula only by going in pursuit of adversaries who for the moment seemed more dangerous. It will be always laid to his charge, however, that he was neither able to penetrate nor to prevent the designs of Hasdrubal; but the laurels of Zama have hidden this fault.

Facing him remained, then, three other generals, Masinissa, Mago, and Hasdrubal Gisco. A fourth was on the way, Hanno; but this general was surprised and defeated by Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant. This success, the taking of Oringis by Lucius Scipio, and Scipio's own victory at Ilipa over 70,000 Carthaginians, reduced the Punic possessions in Spain to the city of Gades only

¹ x. 39, 7 and 8; cf. Livy, xxvii. 19. The battle of Baecula, in this case, must have been fought to deceive Scipio[and no doubt the Punic losses are greatly exaggerated. —*Ed.*].

² According to Polybius (xi. 1) he must have crossed the Pyrenees at the end of the summer of 209, and he did not arrive in Italy until the spring of 207. Livy speaks of his celerity of movement, but also of expeditions of Roman and Massaliot emissaries into the interior of Gaul to observe him.

(206); and Scipio now began to think of Africa. Numidia, adjacent to the Carthaginian territory, was divided between two rival princes, Masinissa and Syphax. The former, who was serving in Spain with the Carthaginians, felt his fidelity give way under so many heavy reverses, and opened negotiations secretly with Scipio. Syphax, on the contrary, had already fought for Rome; but his misfortunes rendered him circumspect. For the sake of deciding the two kings and uniting them against Carthage, Scipio did not hesitate to go over himself into Africa. At the court of the barbarian King he met Hasdrubal, who had come on the same errand, and he was able to get the better of him by his address and persuasive eloquence. Returning into Spain, he made haste to bring the war to an end; he took what towns remained in the enemy's power, and Gades, being abandoned by Mago, whom Carthage sent into Liguria to renew the attempt made by Hasdrubal, opened to him her gates.

At this juncture is placed an event which was of no importance as regards the war, but of very great consequence in the history of Rome,—a military sedition. We have already noticed the case of a tribune whom Regulus was forced to threaten with rods because he refused after Ecnomus to go into Africa. In 253 it had been necessary to degrade 400 knights on account of their insubordination; and a little before this a legion in Rhegium had revolted. This time it was part of the army in Spain, the 8,000 men in camp at Sucro, guarding the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, who upon a rumor of Scipio's death broke out in revolt. They drove their tribunes out of the camp and gave the rods of office to common soldiers; they believed that Spain was about to fall into disorder, and promised themselves an opportunity for plunder. A delay in respect to their pay served as a pretext; but Scipio was not dead, and the rumor of his restoration to health was enough to stop the insurrections upon which the revolting troops depended. He sent to the camp seven tribunes with no message of anger whatever: perhaps, the tribunes were to say to the rebels, their services had not been sufficiently recompensed, and it was certain that money was due them; the general was collecting it among the allies; the army treasury at Carthagera had already received large amounts of tribute-money; if

the troops would go to Carthagera, they should be paid. Hither they came, confident in their numbers and re-assured against any severity by the rumor that the rest of the troops were to be sent away under Silanus for an expedition against the Laletani. Upon their approach the army at Carthagera did indeed march out, but at the gates they stopped; and while the rebels, convoked on the morrow, unarmed, in the market-place, find Scipio seated on his tribunal, the army returns; they close all means of egress, and noiselessly surround the Forum. Scipio addresses the mutineers at considerable length, to allow the troops to make their dispositions: first in the tone of a friend reproaching them; then with the displeasure of a chief whose confidence has been betrayed, finally with the severity of the pro-consul and the indignation of the patrician who has seen the gods, the auspices, the majesty of the law, the sacred rights of country violated. "There must be blood to expiate crimes like these!" At these words a great clash of arms is heard, the shock of the swords and bucklers in the army of Silanus, and the herald announces that a council condemns thirty-five of the guilty. Enticed the night before to houses where they had been stupefied with liquor, they are seized without difficulty. Dragged naked into the midst, they are bound and scourged, and then put to death. After this, the dead bodies being removed and the place purified by the priests, each soldier is required to renew his oath before the military tribunes, and there receives the arrears of his pay. Not a cry nor a murmur rises from the affrighted cohorts.¹ The sedition is at an end; but this outbreak reveals the change that is going on in military manners, and constant war will accelerate this transformation of the citizen-soldier, who defended his country, into the mercenary soldier, who will presently sell her.

Scipio was then free to return to Rome, and to solicit, or rather to accept, the consulship (206). But before quitting Spain he founded, for his veterans in Baetica, that colony of Italica whence came the two most distinguished emperors of Rome, Trajan and Hadrian.

He also conceived the idea of making a public impression

¹ Livy, xxviii. 24-29.

by a funeral ceremony in honor of his father and uncle. He announced that he would give a gladiatorial display at Carthage. "At these combats there were seen no athletes of servile condition, nor any of those mercenaries who sell their blood. All were voluntary and unpaid combatants: some sent by the princes of the country, wishing to prove the native valor of their nations; others who were eager to descend into the arena to gain their general's favor; others still, for the mere pleasure of the strife. Some, already engaged in disputes, agreed to leave the matter to be then decided by the sword. Nor were these obscure men, but noble and illustrious personages, among others Corbis and Orsua, cousins, who disputed for the sovereignty of a city named Ibses, and who agreed to settle their quarrel in the lists. Corbis was the elder, but Orsua was the son of the late king. Scipio attempted to reconcile them; but they replied that they would have no other judge than the God Mars. Corbis was proud of his strength, Orsua of his youth; each preferred to die fighting rather than to submit to the authority of a rival. The elder by his skill triumphed easily over the fiery impetuosity of the younger."¹

II. CONSULSHIP OF SCIPIO (205); BATTLE OF ZAMA (202).

With the battle of Metaurus ended in Italy the Second Punic War. Hannibal had relied upon Syracuse, and it was taken; upon Philip, and he had been defeated;² upon the Gauls, and they had remained indifferent; upon Spain, and it had been conquered; upon Hasdrubal, and he was dead. His allies in Italy failed him also, for the prestige of his fame was fading away, while every day increased his necessities. Bruttium, so poor a country, was becoming exhausted in supplying his mercenaries, and everywhere, as at Locri, defections were planned. He felt himself surrounded by enemies, and hoped to control them by cruelty. The African blood showed itself. At Arpi he had caused the wife and children of a chief who had gone back to the Romans to be put to death

¹ Livy, xxviii. 21.

² This very year (205) Philip sued for peace.

by fire. At Herdonea, at Terina, at Nuceria, he had driven out the people and burned the city. He did the same with all places that he could not keep. Remaining motionless in his camp, the Hannibal of earlier years could only be recognized by the prudence and anxiety of the Roman consuls and the discipline that he knew how to maintain, despite his reverses, in an army which only the hope of plunder seemed able to render united and obedient.

Meanwhile Carthage herself was menaced. The Romans had closed against her successively all the countries whence she had been accustomed to recruit her soldiers: Gaul, whose coasts were defended by Marseilles; Spain and Sicily, whence her armies had been driven out; Numidia, whose alliance had been gained by Scipio. Every spring the Roman fleet of Lilybaeum ravaged Africa. In 207 the territory of Utica had been ravaged, and a Carthaginian fleet destroyed. Finally, Scipio turned against Carthage the two Numidian kings. The time for reprisals had come, and Cannae was to be avenged. Scipio said as much publicly: "We must go over into Africa; Hannibal, driven into a corner in Bruttium, protected by mountains and impassable forests, will make a resistance there, the limits of which we cannot foresee; an attack upon Carthage will give him an honorable pretext, which perhaps he desires, to quit Italy."¹ But Fabius was determined that *his* method should have the honor of the final victory; and the young consul was sent into Sicily without fleet or army.

The common people often see and understand that which their wise men do not see and do not understand. With that admirable instinct which is only good sense applied to simple and great things, they had recognized the conqueror of Hannibal, and applauded his designs. What the Senate denied him, the allies gave. Etruria,² once of doubtful fidelity, offered an entire fleet, an immense quantity of arms, iron, cordage, and provisions; Umbria, the country of the Sabines, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Marrucini, promised soldiers; and the singular spectacle was seen of a fleet

¹ *Jam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparaverat ante naves.* (Livy, xxx. 20.)

² It appears that at the approach of Mago there were yet some disturbances in Etruria. (See Livy, xxx. 3.) Such was the zeal of the allies, that forty days sufficed to cut down the trees and construct the vessels. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 39.)

and an army furnished spontaneously by the subjects of Rome, when Rome herself gave to her consul not a single soldier nor a single ship.

This unfriendliness of the Senate followed Scipio into Sicily. Having found an opportunity to take Locri from Hannibal, he left Pleminius there as governor. The length of the war had, as was the case in France at the close of the First Empire, inspired the soldiers of the regular army with the utmost contempt for the peaceful dwellers in cities. The garrison at Locri, and Pleminius with them, disgraced themselves by a thousand excesses. The enemies of Scipio accused him of connivance. At Syracuse, they said, surrounded by philosophers and rhetoricians, he was forgetting Hannibal and the army. In this Greek, shod with sandals and wearing the chlamys, who could recognize the Roman consul? A commission was appointed to examine into his conduct, and two tribunes were sent with them to arrest him in the name of the people if these rumors should prove well founded. At Locri it was decided that Pleminius alone was guilty; at Syracuse Scipio exhibited the fleet, the magazines, the immense preparations for a descent upon the African coast, and sent away his judges full of admiration and hope.¹ At the same time Rome had sent deputies to Delphi to make an offering to Apollo, and the Pythia, speaking in the interest of Rome, had said: "An important victory awaits the Roman people."

All Sicily gathered at Lilybaeum on the day of the departure (204). Scipio, on the deck of the praetorian vessel, and overlooking thence his fleet and the immense crowd in the harbor, offered a solemn sacrifice, ending it, amidst silence of all, with this prayer: "Gods and goddesses of land and sea, I pray you, I implore you, let my command be fortunate for me, for the Roman people, for the allies, for my soldiers. Grant that our plans succeed, and bring us back to our firesides in health, in strength, and as victors." Then he cast into the sea the entrails of the sacrifice, and gave orders for departure. A favorable wind filled the sails; by noon the land was lost to sight. Four hundred transports

¹ In presence of the great events then preparing, the scandal caused by the conduct of Livius Salinator during his censorship is forgotten. (Livy, xxix. 37.) Moreover, historians seem to have singularly exaggerated this character. His reply to Fabius before the battle of Metaurus cannot be historical. (Livy, xxviii. 40.)



REMAINS OF THE GREEK THEATRE AT SYRACUSE.

carried provisions for forty-five days and thirty thousand soldiers, among them the veterans of Cannae; only forty war-ships escorted them. Upon the voyage they met not one Carthaginian vessel; and yet, after Zama, Carthage surrendered 500 vessels of war! Where were they when this [helpless] fleet advanced, bringing her destruction?

Before embarking, Scipio had received news of the defection of Syphax, whom Hasdrubal had gained over by giving him in marriage Sophonisba, his daughter, and of the defeat of Masinissa, driven out by Syphax from his hereditary kingdom. The adventures of this gallant Numidian show us ancient Africa, the same then that we see it to-day. Tracked upon a mountain by Bocchar, an officer of Syphax, Masinissa escapes him. Again, shut in a valley where Bocchar guards the egress, he flees across the precipices and gains the plains of Clypea, whither Bocchar pursues him, overtakes, and surrounds him. Masinissa is wounded, but escapes with four horsemen; Bocchar, however, has recognized him, despatches all his force in pursuit, cuts off his route to the desert, and brings him to bay on the bank of a deep torrent. The fugitives dash into the water; two are carried away by the rapid flood, and Bocchar, who believes the prince has perished, returns to claim his reward from Syphax. In the meanwhile, Masinissa, hidden in a cavern, is recovering from his wounds, while his two companions forage for his support; and as soon as he can again mount his horse, quits his retreat boldly, reappears among the Mas-sylians, incites them to revolt, and once more a king, attacks at once Carthage and his rival. A new defeat drives him again to the desert. He now flees, escaping from the hot pursuit of Vermina, son of Syphax, until his enemy, wearied out, gives up the chase; then Masinissa reaches the Lesser Syrtis, and there awaits the arrival of the Romans (204).

Scipio had just landed at the Pulchrum Promontorium, when he perceived a group of dusky horsemen riding up. It was Masinissa, who had crossed the whole of the Carthaginian territory to join him. Scipio had expected the assistance of two kings; but one was unfriendly, and the other a fugitive from his kingdom. This fugitive, however, was the best horseman in Africa, and the two Numidias resounded with the fame of his brilliant courage;

Scipio welcomed him with respect, counting upon his services to make an important diversion. Two cavalry engagements, the ravaging of the country, and the blockade of Utica, inaugurated with but little *éclat* this expedition into Africa, which was not strengthened, as had been the case in the time of Regulus, by the defection of the allies of Carthage to the Roman allegiance, — a change in their sentiments doubtless arising from a change of conduct towards them on the part of the Carthaginian Senate. The following year was more fruitful (203). Hasdrubal and Syphax had gathered fifty thousand men.¹ Under cover of negotiations Scipio reconnoitred their camps, which were huts of reeds and straw; during the night he set fire to them, while his legions surrounded the encampment; three thousand men only escaped;² a new army of thirty thousand Carthaginians and Numidians were destroyed in another engagement. The time had come for employing Masinissa; Scipio sent him with Taelius in pursuit of Syphax, already twice defeated. The Massyli hastened to join their prince, who challenged his rival to single combat, and the Roman infantry had but to show themselves to put to flight the enemy, already weakened by the furious onslaught of the Massyli. Syphax, his capital city Cirta, with Sophonisba and all his treasure, fell into the power of Masinissa. The latter had formerly been a suitor to Hasdrubal's daughter, and he now hoped that he might shield her from Roman displeasure by making her his wife. But Scipio remembered that it was she who had detached Syphax from the Roman alliance, and he sternly demanded that she should be given up to him. Whereupon the Numidian King sent her a cup of poison. How much of truth is there in this romantic story, which Livy places amid his recitals of a pitiless war? The Numidian King was ambitious to add to the number of his wives her whom Carthage might have called "the daughter of the Republic;" and once having entered the royal harem, there was no other exit for Sophonisba but death.

This important expedition secured to Scipio the support of all the Numidians. In vain would Hannibal return to Africa;

¹ Livy says 93,000 men; but taking the number of dead, of prisoners, and of fugitives, we find but 50,000.

² According to Appian, only the camp of Hasdrubal was burned.

this cavalry, to which he owed his victories, was now turned against him. The Carthaginian Senate had in fact recalled him; while to gain time and to delay Scipio, already master of Tunis, it gave up a few prisoners, and despatched an embassy to Rome.¹ The Carthaginians had also another general in Italy at this time, Mago, who, sent thither in 205, but with a very insufficient force, had occupied two years in attempts to unite the Ligurian and Gaulish tribes against Rome. An order to return was sent to this general, reaching him just after his defeat in a great battle with the Romans near Milan (203): he at once obeyed, embarking with the remnant of his army, but died on the voyage, from a wound received in the recent engagement.

For five years Hannibal had not attempted one of those bold enterprises which had so often disconcerted the Romans, and he allowed the consuls to boast of the retaking of several small cities as if they had been so many victories. But woe to him who should venture to molest the Carthaginian in his lair! The hero turned and struck a blow, and then fell back into inaction. Sad and gloomy, he felt himself conquered by something mightier than his own genius, the institutions and virtues of Rome. Over armies, over generals, he had been victorious; but this people had something of the power of the ocean. In vain had he driven it back; like the sea, returning slowly, invincibly, it had rallied. Already he had not room to stand; the rising tide threatened him; and, mounting higher and higher, reached the walls of Carthage and assailed its gates.



THE LACINIAN
JUNO.³

In leaving Italy Hannibal left behind him cruel and insulting farewells. In the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno he erected a tablet, on which was inscribed in Greek and in Punic the story of his victories, which was read by Polybius; and around the temple he put to death all the Italian mercenaries who refused to follow him. Tradition relates also that he had the design of

¹ Livy accuses the Carthaginians of having violated the truce by intercepting a convoy of three hundred vessels, and also allowing three envoys of Scipio to be insulted and almost slain by the populace.

² [This brilliant leader has received but scanty justice in history. — *Ed.*]

³ Head of Lacinian Juno on a coin of Crotona.

carrying off the golden statue of the goddess, whose angry countenance arrested the sacrilege.¹ For some time his vessels had awaited him; and he now sailed towards the Lesser Syrtis. Scipio had landed at Pulchrum Promontorium, — a name of good augury; the first object beheld by Hannibal upon the African coast was a ruined tomb. People and soldiers alike read the future in these presages (203).

Scipio was eager to finish the war, for he feared that each spring might bring out to him a successor. No one had been envious of his command in Spain; it was not long since his hopes had been esteemed idle: but Fabius was now dead, and the new consuls wearied the Senate and the tribunes with their importunities for the province of Africa. With that equity which the people show in important circumstances, the thirty-five Roman tribes would have no other general in Africa but the man who had reconquered Spain and forced Hannibal to leave Italy.²

Before the battle which was to decide the destinies of the world, Hannibal, in a conference with Scipio, desired peace. But peace without a defeat of the great Carthaginian would have been inglorious and of brief duration: Scipio refused, and hastened to fight, to take advantage of the 4,000 cavalry which Masinissa had just brought to him, as well as to anticipate the arrival of succor promised by Vermina to Hannibal.³

The two armies were of equal strength in respect to infantry; but Scipio's cavalry was more numerous than that of Hannibal. All the art of war and all the results of experience on either side were brought into play (Oct. 19, 202).⁴ On Hannibal's part there were no more of those stratagems which had deceived so many consuls; but his arrangements were admirable. His cavalry were placed upon the wings; in the van, a formidable

¹ Cic., *de Div.* i. 24.

² Cf. in Livy (xxx. *passim*) the efforts of the consuls Claudius and Lentulus to obtain Africa; the Senate always referred the affair to the people.

³ Appian says (*Libyca*, viii. 34) that Hannibal massacred 4,000 Massyli, who had come over to him, on suspicion of their treason, and Livy (xxx. 36) relates that a few days after the battle of Zama, Vermina ventured to attack Scipio, who killed 16,000 of his men.

⁴ On that day, according to Zonaras, there was an eclipse of the sun, which astronomical calculations prove to have been visible in the north of Africa. Livy (xxx. 29) places Hannibal at Zama and Scipio near the city of Naraggara. According to Appian (*Libyca*, viii. 36) there was at Zama some days earlier a cavalry engagement favorable to the Romans.

line of eighty elephants, the largest number he had ever employed; behind them, the Gallic and Ligurian auxiliaries to meet the first onset, and serve at least to blunt the Roman swords; in the second line, the Carthaginian and African troops, with a legion of Macedonians; and lastly, after a space of about two hundred yards, the bands that he had brought back with him from Bruttium. The battle began with the advance of the elephants; but the shower of arrows and javelins with which they were received, and more especially the shouting of the Romans, so terrified them that they became unmanageable, and, seeking to escape, brought both wings of the Carthaginian army into confusion, which was increased by the charge and pursuit of the Italian and Numidian cavalry under Laelius and Masinissa. Meantime the infantry engagement of the centre was very hot and murderous. Both sides suffered much; but, after a while, Scipio, withdrawing his troops, reformed them, and hurled them in good order, a second time, upon the shattered ranks of the enemy. "Thus," says Livy, "a fresh and renewed battle commenced, inasmuch as the Romans had now penetrated to their real antagonists,—men equal to themselves in the nature of their arms, in their experience of war, in the fame of their achievements, and in the greatness of their hopes and fears." Victory was already inclining towards the Roman side, when Laelius and Masinissa, returning from their pursuit of the cavalry, fell upon the Carthaginian rear, and decided the event. Hannibal, accompanied by a few horsemen, escaped from the field, where twenty thousand of his troops lay dead, and took shelter at Hadrumetum. Thence he returned to Carthage, after thirty-six years of absence, a fugitive, bringing back, as the fruit of so many wars and victories and conquests, only a humiliating peace. As might have been expected, the defeated general was bitterly assailed by the opposite faction; but he had still so strong a hold upon the people that he was at once raised to the chief magistracy of the republic.

The veterans of Cannae had brilliantly restored the honor of the Roman arms. From Zama, Scipio returned to Tunis, and here he met and destroyed an army which Vermina, the son of Syphax, was bringing to the aid of Hannibal. In Scipio's council there were some officers who talked of not leaving Africa till the

name of Carthage should be effaced from the list of nations. But the enterprise was long and difficult; others later would profit by their achievements; already one of the consuls of the year 202, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was preparing to strike a last blow at the hereditary enemy. Scipio resolved to treat. Perhaps also noble thoughts may have occupied this great soul. Since Carthage was no longer formidable, she at once became useful. While Hannibal and Carthage survived, Rome could not give way to the dangerous intoxication of victory. She must needs keep her Roman virtues, her discipline, her courage, against this peril ever liable to spring up again. This policy was, according to Appian,¹ the favorite one of the Scipios, and they doubtless owed it to the head of their house.

Scipio at first concluded an armistice of three months, with the payment by Carthage of 25,000 pounds of silver; she engaged, moreover, to furnish, as long as the truce should last, pay and subsistence for the Roman army. At Rome the people compelled the Senate to allow to the conqueror of Zama the honor of bringing this war to an end, and ten commissioners were associated with him to aid him with their counsels. He did not require the extradition of Hannibal, and made the following terms: Carthage should retain her own laws and her possessions in Africa; she should deliver up all prisoners and deserters, all her ships except ten, all her elephants, and should never train any in future; she should not make war even in Africa without the permission of Rome, and should not again employ mercenaries; the sum of 10,000 talents should be paid to Rome in fifty years; a hundred hostages should be given up, aged from fourteen years to thirty; she should indemnify Masinissa, and receive him as an ally.²

At Carthage one of the senators dared to complain of these conditions; Hannibal dragged him from the platform. When the assembly murmured, "I have always lived in camps," the rude soldier said, "and I do not understand your city manners." Then he proved the necessity of submitting. The ambassadors set off

¹ *Libyca*, viii. 69.

² Polybius, xv. 18; Livy, xxx. 36. When they brought to Rome the first instalment of the tribute, they attempted to pass debased coinage; their pieces had a fourth of alloy. (Livy, xxxii. 2.)

for Rome. The Senate accepted the conditions to which Scipio had agreed, and sent two heralds to Africa with the sacred stones, the vervains, and the consecrated plant which grows at the Capitol.¹ Scipio received 4,000 prisoners and a large number of deserters; the latter were put to death by the axe or by crucifixion, — a punishment at that time unknown at Rome, but habitual at Carthage and in the East. Five hundred vessels were delivered over to him, which he burned at sea, in sight of Carthage, — thus indicating that Rome did not desire for herself that maritime power of which she had just deprived her rival. The tribute came last. On seeing the grief of the Carthaginians at parting with their gold, Hannibal began to laugh. “When they took our ships and our arms it was time to weep,” he said; “the loss which costs you the most regret is the least of your misfortunes.” Carthage was disarmed; and that she might never recover herself, Scipio fixed at her side an indefatigable enemy, Masinissa, to whom, in presence of his troops, he gave the title of king, with the territory of his ancestors, the strong city of Cirta, and a part of the kingdom of Syphax, — the rest however, being given to Vermina, that the presence of that mortal enemy might in turn insure Masinissa’s fidelity.

All things being thus settled in Africa, Scipio returned to Lilybaeum. Thence he sent his army to Rome on board of the fleet, he himself returning by land, traversing the whole length of Italy, in the midst of an immense concourse of the Italian peoples, as if to efface the shame of so many battle-fields, by exhibiting him to whom the genius of Hannibal had at last been obliged to succumb. His entry into Rome was the most splendid triumph. He brought home for the treasury 123,000 pounds of silver, and each soldier had received 400 ases. Syphax followed the chariot.² He was the first king condemned to this shame. But soon Perseus and Jugurtha were to tread this *via dolorosa*, which was for Rome the triumphal path; later Vercingetorix the Gaul, Juba, the daughter of the Ptolemies, and the Queen of Palmyra. Duillius had only an inscription upon a rostral

¹ Livy, xxx. 43.

² According to Livy, contradicted, however, by Polybius, who must be the better informed, Syphax had died in prison before the triumph. Polybius says he died at Tibur, five years later. The veterans of Scipio received lands in Lucania and Apulia.

column; Scipio received the name of Africanus, and a *plebiscitum* decreed that his statue, placed in the temple of Jupiter with the triumphal robe and laurel crown, should be brought forth every year for a new triumph on the anniversary of the day. To these almost divine honors it was desired to add power; and in the delirium of her gratitude Rome offered to Scipio the consulship and dictatorship for life.¹

But this people was unjust towards itself. It was the people who was the real conqueror in this terrible strife. Very early in the war her gods deserted Rome, and we shall see later that of this there remained a bitter recollection. But Rome never failed to herself; she was her own providence, and secured her salvation by wisdom in council, by discipline in action, and by constancy in sacrifice; and these virile virtues made her greater than Hannibal, more fortunate than Scipio. The crowd, however, feels the need of personifying its fortune in human form. To honor him who had conquered at the last hour, Rome forgot her laws; she offered to Scipio that which later she allowed Caesar to take; and it was a grave symptom of a new condition of minds, presaging interior revolutions. It is not enough to say that the victory of Zama finished the Second Punic War: it began the conquest of the world.

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 56 : . . . *perpetuum consulem et dictatorem*.

² Winged Victory crowning a warrior, who is preceded by another. From an ancient intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,545 of the Chabouillet catalogue.



VICTORY CROWNING A WARRIOR.²

FIFTH PERIOD.

CONQUEST OF THE WORLD (201-133).

CHAPTER XXVI.

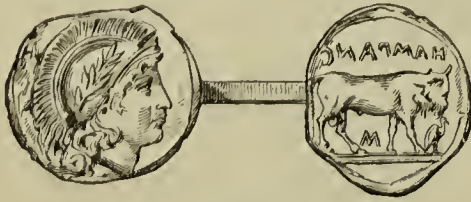
CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD ABOUT THE YEAR 200 B. C.

I. ITALY. — AFRICA. — SYRIA. — EGYPT.

“IT is as delightful to me,” says the historian, “to have come to the end of the Punic War, as if I myself had borne a share of the toil and danger. But my spirit quails before what is to come. . . . I am like those who, tempted by the shallows near the shore, walk into the sea: the farther I advance, the more I see before me vast depths and bottomless abysses.”¹ Beyond Hannibal, Livy discerned Philip, Antiochus, Viriathus, the kings of Pontus and of Numidia, and the great and noble figure of Vercingetorix the Gaul. Beyond the Second Punic War, so simple in its history, yet so majestic in its plan and its results, he saw a century and a half of battles, of disgraceful intrigues, of reverses and of successes, upon the three continents, and he regretted leaving the fair days of the republic to enter upon these endless wars, which were to exhaust her military population, to render the great tyrannical, the lowly servile, and to make of liberty a lie.

¹ Livy, xxxi. 1.

Sixteen years of devastations and of murderous conflicts had impoverished and decimated the peninsula.¹ But the wounds made by war heal quickly in the victorious nation. As early as the year 206, after the battle of the Metaurus, the Senate had sent back the laboring population into the fields, reducing the standing army for the sake of leaving more hands for agriculture. Colonies sent into Campania and Bruttium, and the distribution of lands in Lucania and Apulia among Scipio's veterans,² had re-peopled the wastes made by war;³ territory also distributed among the creditors



SILVER CAMPANIAN COIN.⁵

of the state had cleared off the debt of the Second Punic War, and left free for new enterprises all the resources of the exchequer.⁴ With the return of peace Italy was destined to see her prosperity revive, and her mercantile cities

inherit the commerce of Carthage. The sea was free to her. As far as the Pillars of Hercules there were only conquered nations or allied peoples, and the Illyrian and Macedonian wars had opened Greek waters to the Italian traders.⁶

No danger seemed to threaten the future; the Roman dominion had emerged all the stronger from the fearful trial of the Second Punic War, and all nations turned their anxious gaze towards this formidable Power. "Think you that Carthage or that Rome will be content, after the victory, with Italy and Sicily?" said a Greek

¹ Appian, *Libyca*, 134. Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναῖς μάχαις ἀνελόντος.

² Two acres for each year of service in Spain or Africa; it is said, also, that other grants were made to veterans of the Spanish, Sicilian, and Sardinian wars. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

³ These colonies were made at the expense of Hannibal's allies. The Bruttians, the Lucanians, and the Picentines were henceforward employed only as servants, couriers, or messengers. (Aul. Gell., x. 12 and 13; Strabo, v. 251.) Galba, a dictator, passed the whole period of his office in travelling through Italy, determining the fate of the cities.

⁴ A rent of one *as* was levied upon these lands, in token that they belonged to the public domain, and could be redeemed by the state.

⁵ Head of Minerva, with the laurel-wreathed helmet. On the reverse, KAMIANO, written from right to left, a bull with human face, and a stork.

⁶ I have already spoken repeatedly of the importance of Italian commerce: I will here add that the hundred thousand Romans put to death by Mithridates in Asia Minor were not tourists, but speculators. I will also remind the reader that it was these very Roman merchants who by their influence at Rome made Marius consul. Commerce and banking created the equestrian order. We shall recur to this subject again.

orator, while the struggle was yet undecided. These fears were well founded; for the ambition of Rome was vast, and she had ample means to gratify it. Her generals, trained in the school of Hannibal to war on a large scale, her soldiers, whose discipline and courage we have so often extolled, were without rivals; and no assembly equalled her Senate in political sagacity. But more than her armies, and more than her leaders, it was the weakness of other nations that made the power of Rome.

In Africa, she need only let the jealous hatred of Masinissa have its way, and Carthage would never recover from the defeat of Zama.

In Spain, the legions were soon to fight against their former allies, but this war with races owing their strength to the soil which bore and sheltered them, proved for three-quarters of a century nothing more than a rough schooling for the soldiery, a road to fortune for the generals, and to the Senate a useful pretext for keeping the republic on a war footing, for distributing lucrative appointments, and for keeping on foreign service the more turbulent of the plebeians. In no case—whatever may have been said of Numantia and Viriathus—was it a serious danger.

In the case of Gaul, Rome remembered too well former perils to risk her fortune in that fierce and dangerous chaos. In that direction she maintained for a century and a half a prudently defensive attitude.

Germany was not yet discovered; the Alps were still an effective barrier even to the Romans. But the Cisalpine remained a serious danger, though exaggerated by Roman anxiety, causing wars laborious and unprofitable, destructive to consuls and armies, never affording decisive blows, brilliant victories, or a chance of those ambitious surnames which Roman generals were now so eagerly coveting.¹ South of Italy, as in the west and north, there was for a long time nothing of importance to accomplish. The Senate, therefore, directed their attention towards the East, where were vast but weak monarchies, and immense wealth almost defenceless.

The whole East was strewn with the *débris* of Alexander's empire. In Asia, ten kingdoms had been set up at the expense

¹ Scipio is the first Roman general who took the name of the conquered country.

of the Seleucidae; in Thrace, the native rulers had been restored; Cyrene had separated herself from the still prosperous Egypt of the Ptolemies; lastly, the Greek cities, scattered along the coasts,

were divided among these various kings, or else maintained against them a profitless liberty.

The kingdom of the Seleucidae still extended over an immense area, from the Indus to the Aegean Sea. But within there was no cohesion, and all

along its frontier, defended neither by rivers nor mountains, there were enemies: on the south, the kings of Egypt; on the north

and east, the Bactrians and the Parthians, former subjects, now revolted, and on that account all the more formidable. In Asia Minor the Galatians were dangerous neighbors, and if the kings of Pergamus possessed but insignificant

forces, the support of Rome rendered them dangerous enemies. Two of these kings, Attalus and Eumenes, were to play the same part

for the Senate as the Aetolians did in Greece, Masinissa in Africa, and Marseilles in Gaul. Notwithstanding this belt of enemies, notwithstanding the serious disadvantages of the geographical position of this Seleucid empire—a long and narrow strip that might be cut in twenty places, nothing had been done to attach the different subject races to the cause of their masters.

Quite recently one Satrap, Molon, had been able to detach from the empire the provinces beyond the Tigris, while another, Achaeus, had made himself independent in Asia Minor, and the Ptolemies



DIDRACHM (CISTOPHORUS) OF PERGAMUS.¹



AETOLIAN DRACHMA.²



PTOLEMY IV., PHILOPATOR, 222–205.³

¹ Mystic cistus whence emerges a serpent into a crown of vine-branches and ivy. On the reverse, ΠΕΡ, first letters of the name Pergamus, ΔΙ, a monogram, two serpents, and a thyrsus.

² Head of a young man. On the reverse, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, and the two letters ΝΙ, beginning of a magistrate's title. Young man leaning on a gnarled stick, holding a sword under the left arm, and having one foot upon a rock. Weight 10.54 gr., imitated from Milesian coinage.

³ From a tetrastater in the *Cabinet de France*.

had effected the conquest of Syria. Antiochus III., however, had conquered Molon and Achæus, driven the Egyptians back beyond Pelusium, subjugated Smyrna, struck terror into the Arabs, and had brought back from his expedition into Bactria and India a hundred and forty war elephants. He was now menacing Thrace, and had combined with Philip of Macedon to divide the rich inheritance left by Ptolemy Philopator to a child; dazzled by these various successes, he had arrogated to himself the title of Antiochus the Great.

But what weakness beneath this borrowed splendor! At Magnesia it did not cost the Romans four hundred men to drive before them like chaff the immense army of Antiochus. The reason was that, unfaithful to Alexander's idea, all his successors remained foreigners to the Asiatic races. Antiochus himself insulted their gods by his sacrilegious acts, their customs and modes of speech by his manners and his language, the just ambition of their national chiefs by his predilection for Greek adventurers. At that time Greece furnished mercenaries for the armies of all nations; ministers, generals, and courtiers for all princes. There could not be found among the satraps of Antiochus a Mede or a Persian, and the natives were only employed in those light-armed corps which uselessly swelled the numbers of Asiatic armies. Greeks and descendants of Macedonians furnished the phalanx; but it is well known how readily men of European descent become enervated by an Eastern climate. Besides, the phalanx, although it had succeeded once, was none the less a military mistake in Asia.¹

To all these causes of weakness was added yet another, that there could not be union between the two great portions of the empire, the eastern and the western. The conquests of Alexander and of Rome had disturbed the world's balance. Formerly civilization and power were in Asia; at that time, Babylon, Ecbatana, and Persepolis were at the centre, and ruled with ease from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Now that Europe had emerged from barbarism and become the heir of oriental civilization, the regions

¹ [Alexander knew this perfectly well, and never tried to win a battle with the phalanx, which was Philip's invention to meet Greek infantry armies. Alexander won his battles with his heavy cavalry, making the phalanx his defensive wing, and at his death he was in the act of breaking it up into lighter corps. Nevertheless, against the Roman legion, and on even ground, it proved a very dangerous form of tactics. — *Ed.*]

to the west of the Euphrates, covered with new cities, with the language, manners, and ideas of Greece, had entered into the sphere of European action, while eastward of the Tigris all things remained Asiatic. The Tigris and Euphrates, therefore, separated two worlds, two civilizations. The Seleucidæ sought to re-unite them, and perished in the attempt. The oriental provinces went back to the Parthians, and later, to the Persians. The western provinces were united to the empire of Rome, later to that of Constantinople, and the separation has lasted to our own times.

Egypt had more unity, and apparently more strength, at least to defend herself. Together with the tomb of Alexander, the Ptolemies had kept some of his ideas; in the hope of making Egypt the great commercial power of the world, they had annexed to it, on the south, the countries lying along the Red Sea; on the north, Cyprus, Palestine, and Syria, the perpetual and legitimate object of ambition to all the intelligent rulers of Egypt; and besides, many cities of the coast of Asia Minor, of Thrace, and of the islands of the Aegean Sea. Unfortunately the Ptolemies, remaining Greek upon the banks of the Nile, as the Seleucidæ had done upon the Euphrates, did not strive to create for themselves a power from the national feeling. They abandoned the provinces, they neglected the old capitals, Thebes and Memphis,¹ and all the power and life which this Hellenized Egypt possessed concentrated itself in Alexandria, a new city situated almost outside of the country. Thence the Ptolemies could better keep watch upon the affairs of Asia and of Greece. After every victory Alexander was accustomed to ask: "And what do the Athenians say?" His generals could not feel that Greece was a foreign country to them. They had so easily conquered the East, that in their eyes there was no strength anywhere but in Greece, and they cared more to establish in her cities their influence or their authority than to gain provinces elsewhere. Aratus and Cleomenes had both accepted Egyptian gold as the price of their assistance against Macedonian

¹ This must be understood only in a political [and very restricted] sense, for the Ptolemies built many temples [did their best to fuse the nations], but the native population escaped entirely the influence of their rulers. Thus in his *Histoire d'Égypte*, Champollion-Figeac could say (p. 401): "In this country nothing was Greek, neither language, religion, manners, opinions, nor prejudices [except the Greek part of Alexandria]. In all these respects Egypt remained free from the Macedonian rule." And it was for this reason the more feeble.

schemes. Having confidence also in no courage save that of the Greek soldiers, the Ptolemies confided their armies and even their lives to mercenaries always ready to betray them, as, for instance, to the Aetolian Theodotus, who sold Coele-Syria to Antiochus III., and the Cretan Bolis, who, sent by Ptolemy IV. into Asia Minor to save Achæos, gave him up instead to the king of Syria. All Egypt was in Alexandria, and Alexandria, like her kings, lay at the mercy of those whom Polybius calls the Macedonians.¹ "In respect to the state of this country," adds the same writer, "we can only say with Homer: 'To traverse Egypt the way is long and difficult.'"

The importance that the Ptolemies attached to these transmarine possessions, their rivalry with the kings of Macedon and Syria, and possibly the fear of Carthage, whose competition as a commercial power was dreaded at Alexandria, made them enter early into an alliance with Rome. In the year 273, Philadelphos concluded a treaty with the republic, which was maintained by

his successors, and during the second Punic war

Ptolemy IV. sent corn to

Rome. Such was, in 201,

the intimacy of the rela-

tions established between

the two governments that,

to put an end to the dis-

turbances of the kingdom, the guardianship of

Ptolemy Epiphanes, then but ten years of age, was offered to the Roman Senate, and Lepidus, a senator, resided for some time at Alexandria as tutor to the young king.



PTOLEMY V., EPIPHANES (205-181).²



COIN OF LEPIDUS.³

¹ See in Strabo (xvii. 12) the sad picture which Polybius, who visited Alexandria in the year 143, has drawn of that city, and all that Polybius himself (xv. 25) has said. Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, said to Sosibius, minister of Philopator, that there were in Alexandria 3,000 mercenaries from the Peloponnesus, and 1,000 Cretans, and that with these troops there was nothing to fear. At the battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had Thracians, Cretans, Gauls, Africans, Aetolians, Peloponnesians, and, for his entire fleet, only thirty decked vessels. (Polybius, v. 16.)

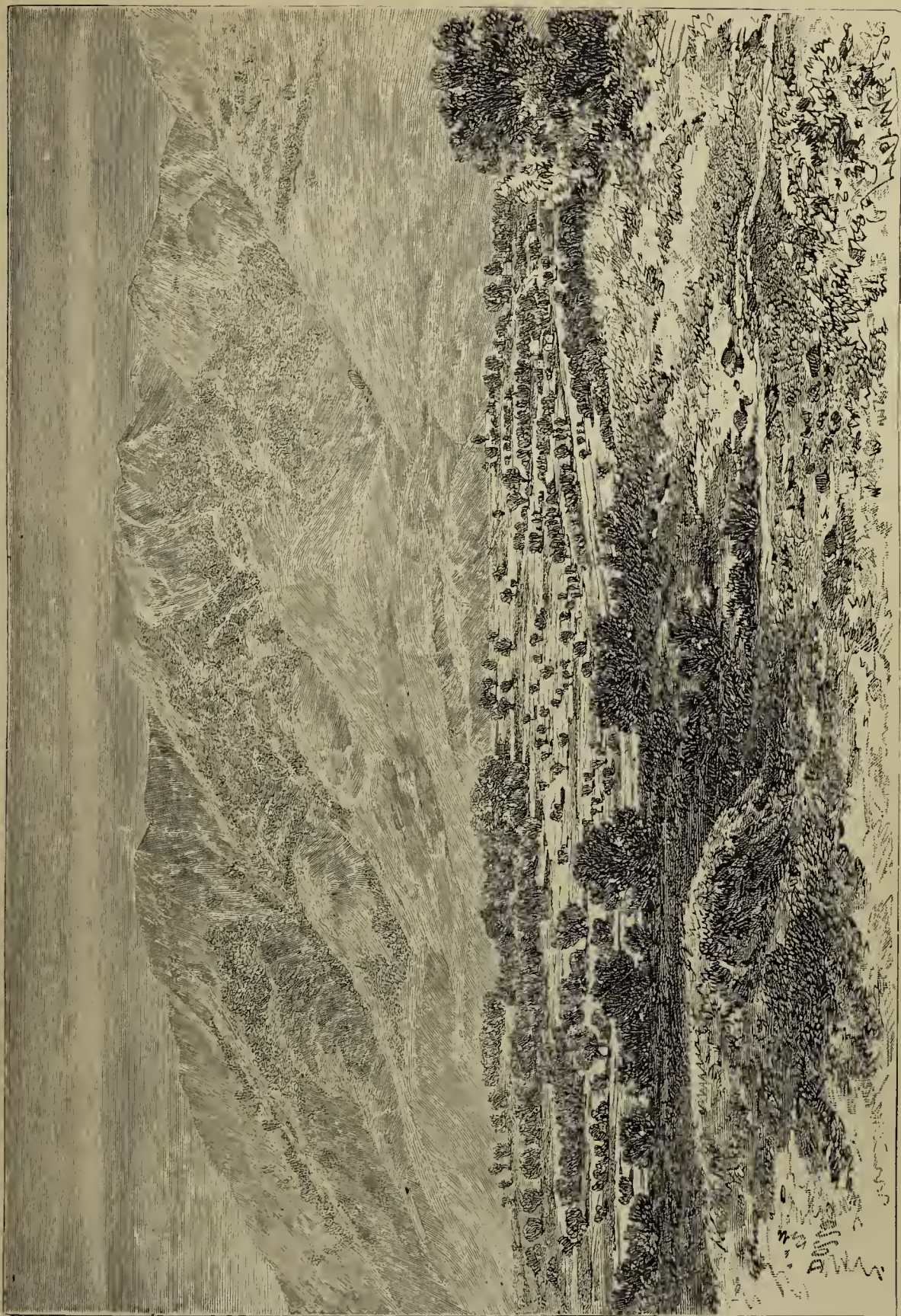
² Octodrachm (27.85 gr.).

³ A woman's head, representing Alexandria. On the reverse, Lepidus placing the crown on the head of Ptolemy. The legend, his name with the words: *Tutor regis*. All the Greek Orient came forward to welcome the Roman dominion. As early as the year 195, Smyrna erected a temple to the divinity of Rome.

II. GREECE.

SINCE the war with Pyrrhus, the Senate had carefully watched the revolutions in Greece. This beautiful country had long been without strength and deprived of liberty. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, which had by turns ruled it, had exhausted themselves in sustaining a fortune too great for them, and their power had passed into the hands of semi-barbarous races. By its union with Macedonia, Greece appeared formidable, and that which democracy, so strong in resistance, but so feeble in attack, had not been able to do, royalty accomplished: the Persian empire, scarcely shaken by Cimon and Agesilaus, fell into the hands of Alexander. The rivalries and wars of his successors gave back to the Greek cities their independence, but not their former vitality. During these few years of subjection they had lost all energy, and even their respect for their past glory. "When the gods make a man a slave," said Homer, "they take from him half his virtue." This might have been said of States as well as of individuals; for servitude, like hot summer weather drying up the failing rivers, dries up the springs of life in republican States. At Chaeronea the Athenians still fought bravely, and Demosthenes, some years later, might have repeated to the Thebans, upon the ruins of their city, his splendid consolations: "No, no, you have not failed in rushing on death for the salvation of Greece." But what had become of these two republics under the Macedonian rule? The one only astonished the world by its servility, the other, by its degradation.

The disturbances in Macedon, the fall of the great cities, the political torpor of Corinth and Argos, left a clear field in Greece. Two new peoples appeared there: the Aetolians and the Achaeans, who till now had lived unknown among their mountains or on the sterile shores of the Morea. And so, before her political existence came at last to an end, Greece called to the front the most obscure of her children. But the lustre which they spread over her last days was as fleeting as their own power. Now enemies, now united again to oppose Macedon, they but



PLAIN OF APOCHORI AT THE FOOT OF MOUNT TOMARUS (WHERE ARE THE REMAINS OF DODONA).

increased the confusion in which perished the last remnants of patriotism.¹

Aetolia was inhabited by a race of men at strife with all their neighbors, and living only by pillage. Wherever war had broken out thither they hastened, like birds of prey drawn by the smell of blood, and ready to plunder enemies and friends alike. And when they were called upon to renounce this savage custom, "We could sooner take Aetolia from Aetolia," they said, "than prevent our warriors from carrying off spoils from the spoiled."² They were worse than wreckers, plying their cruel trade far into the Peloponnesus, into Thessaly, and Epirus. In 218, their leader, Dorimachus, plundered and destroyed the most famous sanctuary in all Greece (except Delphi), the temple of Dodona, which never recovered from the disaster.³

The portrait which Polybius draws of this people is by no means flattering; but the excellent Polybius was an Achaean, and of the aristocratic party, that is to say, the mortal enemy of the Aetolians, who were of the popular faction. We may therefore believe that without actually calumniating them, he has sketched them with adverse pencil. They had one virtue, certainly, then rare in Greece; they were brave, for they dared to resist Macedon, and Rome, and the Gauls; and they knew how to attain power. The Aetolian league, more solidly organized than any other ever was in Greece, subordinated the cities to the general assembly, and thus held the confederates united by a close tie; hence the league attained great foreign influence, for its action was more prompt, and its plans were more consistently carried out. Its confederates were numerous; some in Peloponnesus, some even as far away as the coasts of Thrace and of Asia Minor, such as Lysimachia, Chalcedon and Chios.

In central Greece they held Thermopylae, Locris, Phocis, and

¹ [The whole history of this most interesting phase of Greek liberty, which lasted nearly three generations, and which seems much underrated in the text, has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Freeman in his admirable volume on the *History of Federal Government*. — *Ed.*]

² Λάφυρον ἀπὸ λαφύρου. (Polybius, xvii. (xviii.) 3.)

³ Dodona was at the foot of Mount Tomarus, which, over 6,000 feet in height, is, next to Pindus, the highest mountain in Lower Epirus. (Cf. Carapanos, *Dodona and its Ruins*.) Our illustration is copied from that admirable work. It is to this author that is due the very recent discovery of the ruins of Dodona.

the south of Thessaly. But this power, instead of being helpful to Greek liberty, turned against it, for it was not possible that the Aetolian league, with its principles of government and its rules of conduct, should ever become the nucleus of a general confederation. What Sparta had been for the Peloponnesus, that Aetolia was for all Greece, namely, a continual menace, and to complete the resemblance, the Aetolian strategus Scopas proposed, as the revolutionary king of Sparta, Cleomenes, had done, to abolish debts and establish new laws favorable to the poor.¹ For fear of Sparta, Aratus delivered over the Peloponnesus to the Macedonians, and when Philip declared himself the enemy of Rome, the latter found in the Aetolians most useful auxiliaries.



ACHAEAN COIN.²

They laid open to her central Greece, and it is possible that their cavalry secured for Flaminius the victory at Cynoscephalae.

Among the Achaeans public morality was of a higher tone, and their chiefs, Aratus, Philopoemen, Lycortas, the father of Polybius, truly desired the welfare of Greece. Instead of seeking this end by an absolute supremacy, as Athens, Sparta, and Macedon had done, they hoped to attain it by a federation, like the early Hellenic amphyctionies, in its principle, viz., in the equality of all the associated States. The Achaean league, which secured equal rights to every one of its members, which respected the individuality of the different States, and yet called upon them to act in common, seemed likely to make an united Greece, stronger and more formidable than she had ever been before. In 229, almost all the cities of the Peloponnesus and a part of central Greece had become members of the Achaean confederation.

But institutions alone cannot save nations. Of this league we have only the charming picture that Polybius has drawn of its government; we forget its intestine rivalries and its general feebleness. No doubt if the Spartans had cordially joined the league, if the Aetolians had been less unfriendly, and the neighboring

¹ Polybius, xiii. 1; Livy, xlii. 5.

² Obverse, a head of Jupiter. On the reverse, a dolphin, the symbol of Dyme, placed under the monogram X with ΘΕΣΕ, the initials of two magistrates. Triobol.

kings less jealous ; if, in a word, the body of Greek nations having Macedon for its head, and wielding with its thousand arms the sword of Marathon and Thermopylae, had held itself ready to defend the sacred soil against all invasion, no doubt it would have been necessary for Rome to send more than two legions to Cynoscephalae. "I see," said a deputy from Naupactus, in the presence of the assembled Greeks,¹ "I see a stormy cloud arising in the west ; let us hasten to terminate our puerile disagreements before it bursts over our heads." But union and peace were not possible between the aristocratic tendencies of the Achaeans and the revolutionary spirit of Lacedaemon, between the peaceful Corinthian traders and the Klephts of Aetolia, between all these republics and the ambitious kings of Macedon. Dissensions existed even within the cities, and the more deep-rooted because the strife was not for power but for wealth. Each city had its party of rich and poor, the latter always ready to take arms against the former, those who had nothing, to attack those who were in possession of property. Hence arose violent hatreds, from which the Senate knew how to derive advantage. Continually threatened with a social revolution, the rich turned their hopes towards Rome, and as soon as the legions appeared, there was a Roman party in Greece.²

To bring these nations into fraternal union, then, it would have been needful to begin by obliterating the memory of their past, and their inveterate hatreds ; also it would have been needful to prevent contact with that rich and corrupt East, which constantly drew away into the schools of Alexandria and Pergamus all the poets and scholars who yet remained to Greece, and into the courts of the Ptolemies and Seleucids all her men of talent and courage. These oriental rulers had not a minister, a general, a governor of a city, who was not of Hellenic birth. Greece was giving her best blood and receiving vices in exchange. "Everywhere in this country," says Polybius, "high offices are bought at small cost ;³ entrust a talent to those who have the management of the public funds, take ten securities, as many promises, and twice as many

¹ In 217. (Polybius, v. 21.)

² Legal interest in Athens was 18 per cent. (Dareste, *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, July, 1878, p. 486.) At this rate debts increased with extreme rapidity, and it is easy to see how they became the scourge of the Greek cities as they were at Rome in early times.

³ iv. 9.

witnesses; never will you see your money again.”¹ Elsewhere he cites that Dicaearchos, the worthy friend of Scopas, who, when sent by Philip to plunder the Cyclades contrary to his sworn engagement, built, wherever he landed, two altars, one to Impiety, the other to Injustice.²

This thirst for gold had produced a moral degradation which destroyed all devotion to public interests. Hence, what torpor in most of the cities! Athens, the alert and intelligent city which once took the initiative in the most glorious measures, now refuses



COIN OF ATHENS.⁴

to unite her destinies with those of Greece,³ and by the sacrilegious honors she pays to all kings, those *Divine Saviours*, as she calls them, to whom she raises altars and offers sacrifices, proves how ready she herself is for servi-

tude.⁵ Aratus sets her free from the Macedonian garrison in the Piraeus, and restores Salamis to her, without moving her from her apathetic indifference. It only remained for her to forbid by public decree her citizens from ever concerning themselves in the general affairs of Greece, as the Boeotians had done, who, not to be disturbed in their pleasures, had declared patriotism to be a crime against the State.⁶

“Thebes,” says Polybius, “died with Epaminondas. It is the custom there to leave one’s money, not to one’s child, but to one’s boon companions, on condition that it be spent in orgies; many men, therefore, are under obligation to give more feasts in

¹ vi. 56, and xviii. 2. The Greeks could not believe that Flamininus did not sell peace to Philip . . . τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν.

² Polybius, xviii. 37: τὸν μὲν Ἀσεβείας, τὸν δὲ Παρανομίας.

³ Τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων οὐδ’ ὁποίας μετείχον . . . εἰς πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐξέκχυντο. (Ol., cxi. 3; Polybius, v. 106.) Athens, he says, has always been like a vessel without a captain; after escaping the most furious tempests, she goes to pieces in calm weather upon shoals full in sight.

⁴ Head of Athene. Reverse, first three letters of the name Athens, ΑΘΕ, and three names of magistrates. The owl consecrated to this goddess, standing upon a vase; a caduceus, and a monetary mark, ΣΦ. Athenian tetradrachm. (Cf. Beulé, *Monnaies d’Athènes*, p. 362.)

⁵ Phit., *Dem.*, 10; Livy, xxxi. 14–15. Later on we shall see her degrading prayer “to the god Demetrius.”

⁶ Οὐδ’ ἐκοινώνησαν (Βοιωτοὶ) οὔτε πράξεως οὔτ’ ἀγώνος οὐδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς Ἑλλησι μετὰ κοινοῦ βύγματος. (Polybius, xx. 4.)

a month than the month has days. For nearly twenty-five years the tribunals remained closed. . . .”¹

Since the time of Philip, Corinth was no longer free. One garrison occupied her walls, another her citadel; and Aratus seized and afterwards sold the Acrocorinthus, without the citizens interfering even in the sale. Their arsenals were empty, but statues, and elegant vases, and marble palaces glittered on every side; they made it their pride that their city should be extolled as the most pleasure-loving in all Greece, and their temple of Aphrodite was rich enough to have in its service a thousand courtesans.³

CORINTHIAN DIDRACHM.²

After having destroyed or subjugated the other cities of Argolis, Argos herself fell under the rule of tyrants. Three times the Achaeans penetrated the city and fought against mercenaries. The inhabitants, indifferent observers from their house-tops of a strife in which their own destinies were at stake, applauded the best performance. “You would have thought,” says Plutarch, “they were looking at the Nemean games.”

ARGIVE DIDRACHM.⁴

Sparta was nothing but one perpetual revolution. Within a few years the Ephors had been massacred four times, and the royal power increased, abolished, then re-established, bought, and finally left in the hands of a tyrant. Sparta, pledged to poverty and equality, had become the richest and most oligarchical city in

¹ Polybius, vi. 6, and xx. 6. Boeotian stupidity, *ἀναισθησία* and gluttony, *Βουωρία* ὕς, have become proverbial. Cf. Athenaeus, x. 11. However, the fact that Pindar and Epaminondas were Boeotians, also the discovery of the very graceful figurines of the necropolis of Tanagra, compel us to accept with reserve the common opinion in respect to Boeotian stupidity.

² Head of Athene. In the field, a bearded head, monetary symbol marking a coinage. Beneath the Pegasus is the *koppa* (ϙ) initial of the name Corinth; it was customary to mark with this symbol horses of a special breed. [Cf. *σαμφόρας*, probably for Sicyonic horses. — *Ed.*]

³ [These were, however, a direct source of gain, and rather prove the greatness of the commerce and thoroughfare in that city. — *Ed.*]

⁴ Obverse, a head of Juno with a diadem. Reverse, ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ; cow's head, adorned with fillets, between two dolphins. Argive didrachm.

Greece.¹ From the 9,000 Spartans of Lycurgus, the number had fallen below 700, of whom 600 were beggars,² deprived of all political rights by the loss of their ancestral property.³ Wealth, accumulated in the hands of women, had engendered unbridled



LYCURGUS.⁵

corruption; everything could be bought for money.⁴ Agis and Cleomenes attempted, it is said, to put in force the ancient laws of Lycurgus, and to recreate anew the Spartan people. But the one perished before he had accomplished anything; the other effected only a military revolution in the in-

terest of his own power, and gave Sparta an appearance of life merely by appealing to popular passions. Throughout the Peloponnesus the poor called upon him, expecting that he would



ANTIGONUS.⁶

divide the land among them, and abolish all debts. Hence the alarm which seized Aratus and the Achaean league, when they beheld Cleomenes, at the head of 20,000 slaves, debtors, and proletaries, threatening not only the independence of States and their government, but the property of each individual.

Far indeed was this radical tyranny from the austere polity of Lycurgus.

To escape from this danger the Achaeans threw themselves

¹ Χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πάσιν Ἑλλήσιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἰδίᾳ. (Plato, *Alc.* I. p. 122 E.)

² The Spartan population had fallen off from 8,000, in 480, to 6,000 in 420 (O. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. 233); after the battle of Leuctra only 2,000 remained. Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6) reckoned the number at 1,000. Under Agis there were 700. (Plut., *Agis*, 5.) Many causes contributed to the rapid extinction of this race: the law for the exposure of infants, the continual wars, the increasing inequality in respect to wealth since the law of Epitades (Plut., *Agis*, 5), which reduced the poor to a condition of political inferiority, ὑπομείλεις (see Cinadon's conspiracy in Xenophon, *Hell.*, iii. 3, and Aristotle, *Pol.*, viii. 6), and prevented them from bringing up children, although a man having one son was exempted from military service, and having three, from all civic obligations (Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 13; Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*, p. 415); finally the usage τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἔχειν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας (Polybius, xii. 6), and the *Creticus amor*.

³ Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 7; Stob., *Serm.*, 40: Τὸν μὴ ἐμμένοντα τῇ ἀγωγῇ κἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ εἰς τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἀποστέλλουσιν.

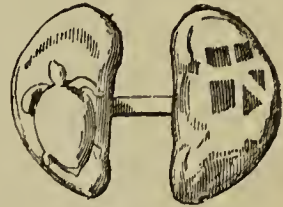
⁴ In the time of Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6, 11) women in Sparta possessed two-fifths of all the property owned in the State. Plato (*de Leg.*, i.) had been struck with the depravity of Spartan manners, and held the women responsible for it.

⁵ Bronze coin of Sparta with [a conventional] head of Lycurgus.

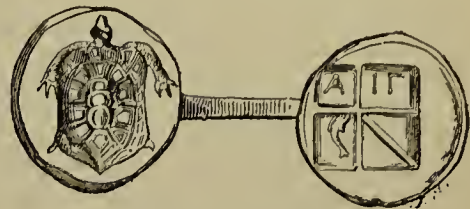
⁶ This head of Antigonus Doson used to be called Cleomenes.

into the arms of the king of Macedon; under him they would at all events lose only a portion of their independence.¹

The battle of Sellasia destroyed this factitious power, and Cleomenes carried into Egypt his turbulent ambition and his misconceptions of times and of men; he perished calling the Alexandrians to liberty! After him, Sparta remained a prey to factions, whence emerged the tyranny of Machanidas, which was destroyed by Philopoemen. But Sparta, despite her abasement, was too proud of her old glory to consent to disappear into the Achaean league. To Machanidas succeeded Nabis,² and the Spartans remained allies of the Aetolians.

COIN OF AEGINA.³

Need we speak of smaller states? Aegina has disappeared from the arena;⁴ soon she will serve for an instance to show how greatness and glory pass away.⁵ Megara is but an obscure dependent of the Boeotian or the Achaean leagues; the Eleans, like Messene and part of Arcadia, are dependent upon the Aetolians; the weakness of Phocis still attests, after four generations have passed by, the terrible vengeance of the Sacred War; Euboea and Thessaly are powerless;⁶ Crete given up to disorder and to all manner of evil passions; “to *cretise*,” was a synonyme for lying.⁸

DRACHMA OF AEGINA.⁷

¹ Concerning the dependence of the Achaeans upon Macedon, see Plutarch (*Aratus*, 45, 51, 52) and Polybius (iv. and x. 1-5).

² See in Polybius (xiii. 7, and xvi. 13) a picture of the tyranny of Nabis.

³ A tortoise and a rude square. Very ancient didrachm.

⁴ However, yet once more she resisted a Roman general, Sulpicius Galba, who caused all her inhabitants to be sold into slavery. (Polybius, ix. 42 a.)

⁵ See the too much admired letter of Sulpicius to Cicero to console him in an inconsolable affliction, — a daughter's death: *Aegina, Megara, Piraeus, Corinthus, quae oppida, quodam tempore, florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent.* (*Fam.*, iv. 5.)

⁶ Hannibal said of Boeotia, Euboea, and Thessaly: *Illis nullae suae vires sunt.* (Livy.)

⁷ Same symbols, but artistically wrought. In the square a dolphin, and the first letters of the name, Aegina.

⁸ “Crete,” says Polybius, “is the only country in the world where gain, no matter what may be its nature, passes for honest and legitimate. . . . If you look at individuals, there are few men more knavish; if you consider the state, there is none in which more unjust designs are conceived.” (vi. 9.) Cf. Diod., *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119.

Even with patriotism and sounder morals, the Greeks could not have been saved, and though peace and unity had reigned from Cape Taenarum to Mount Orbelus, Rome would notwithstanding, with a little more time and effort, have reduced her no less completely.

Upon the confines of Europe and Asia, there was activity and wealth in the commercial cities ranged along the shores of the Propontis, upon the sea coast of Asia Minor, and in the islands of the Aegean Sea. Byzantium, the queen of the Bosphorus, Cyzicus, and Rhodes especially, had even established with Smyrna, Abydus, Chios, Mitylene, and Halicarnassus a sort of league or *hansa* for mutual defence. But there was no real strength; Rome could easily

get the better of these cities, leaving to them that which was their supreme ambition, commerce, with its profits, and municipal liberty, with its agitations.



BYZANTINE COIN.¹

If we depend upon the judgment of Montesquieu, we shall strangely deceive ourselves in respect to the strength of Greece at this period. The fears expressed at Rome have been taken in earnest; in the crafty dealing of the Senate has been found a proof of Greek power, and her warriors have been counted by hundreds of thousands. It is a mere optical



COIN OF SMYRNA.²

illusion produced by the great names of the past—at a distance, ships of the line, seen near at hand, logs floating upon the water. Athens was not able to put a stop to the ravages of the Chalcidian pirates, nor of the

Corinthian garrison. In the year 200 some bands of Acarnanians overran Attica with impunity, burning and massacring, and 2,000 Macedonians kept the city besieged.³ When Philip ravaged Laconia up to the very walls of Sparta, Lycurgus had but 2,000 men with

¹ Head of Bacchus. On the reverse, a bunch of grapes, and the legend, BY(Z)ANTION. Copper coin.

² Turreted head of the city. The reverse, ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ (magistrate's name), and a monogram; lion passant; the whole surrounded by a wreath. Tetradrachm of Smyrna.

³ Livy, xxxi. 14, 22.

whom to oppose him. Philip himself entered upon the campaign with 5,700 soldiers in 219, and the year after he had only 7,500. The contingent of Argos and of Megalopolis is 550 men, and all the Achaean confederation cannot put under arms during the war of the two leagues, the most exciting war of this period, more than 3,500 national troops.¹

In 219 three cities withdrew from the confederation; for their defence an army of 350 soldiers was sufficient. The Eleans had never more than a few hundred men under arms; at the battle of Mont Apelaurus they were 2,300 strong, including mercenaries.³

The marine had fallen even lower. The Athenians, who equipped 300 vessels at Salamis, have now for their entire fleet three open galleys;⁴ Nabis has no more.⁵ The Achaean league, which comprises Argolis, Corinth, Sicyon, and all the maritime cities of the ancient Aegialeia, is in a position to equip but six vessels, three to guard the Corinthian Gulf and three the Saronic.⁶ In Livy is mentioned the ridiculous fleet of Philopoemen, the flagship being a four-banked galley which had for eighty years been rotting in the harbor of Aegion;⁷ the Aetolians have not a single ship;⁸ and we remember that the Illyrian pirates carried their depredations with impunity as far as the Cyclades. Rhodes even, whose power is so vaunted,⁹ after a serious quarrel with Byzantium, sends but three galleys into the Hellespont; and yet the parties in this war were two famous republics, three

COIN OF HALICARNASSUS.²PRUSIAS I.¹⁰

¹ At one time a levy of 11,000 men was decreed, but of this number 8,300 were mercenaries. (Polybius, v. 91.) See in the same author (x. 5) the deplorable condition of the cavalry before the reforms of Philopoemen.

² Head of Medusa. The reverse, the name of the city, ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΙ (ΩΝ), and the bust of Pallas. Drachma of Halicarnassus. (3.85 gr.)

³ Polybius, iv. 68.

⁴ Livy, xxxi. 22.

⁵ *Id.*, xxxv. 26.

⁶ Polybius, v. 91.

⁷ Livy, xxxv. 26.

⁸ In their expeditions against Epirus, Aearnania, and the Peloponnesus, they employed ταῖς τῶν Κεφαλλήνων ναυσί. (Polybius, v. 3.)

⁹ Strab., xiv.; Diod., xx. 81.

¹⁰ Prusias I., king of Bithynia, about 228, died between 183 and 179. Attalus was king of Pergamus, and Achaicus, of that portion of Asia Minor which was a dependency upon the empire of the Seleucidae (223-214). The head of Prusias is from a tetradrachm. During the

kings, Attalus, Prusias, and Achaëus, with an indefinite number of Gallic and Thracian chiefs.¹

This weakness was not accidental. I will not say that the military spirit was dead in Greece, but for the last two centuries her sons had been wasted in causes foreign to herself, and the lucrative occupations opened to them in the East had led them to desert the cause of their country.² At the very time when the Spartan king Areus perished and the last remnants of Hellenic liberty were falling beneath the attacks of Antigonus, Xanthippus had brought away the bravest of the Lacedaemonians to the assistance of Carthage. Later, during the second war of the Romans against Philip, Scopas came to enroll under the standard of Ptolemy 6,000 Aetolians, and, without the opposition of the strategus Damocritus, all the youth would have followed him.³ In the time of Alexander, Darius had already 50,000 Greek mercenaries; we have seen that they were also the chief dependence of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids.

There existed therefore between Greece and the East an interchange equally disastrous to both; the latter took men and lost the confidence and support of the national forces; the former received gold, and with that gold, destructive to her own morals, bought in turn mercenaries for her private quarrels. I have already spoken of that deadly ulcer of states, *condottierism*, which destroyed Carthage and the Italian republics of the Middle Ages; it had now extended over the whole of Greece. Macedon, even, had foreigners in her pay; at Sellasia there were 5,000 or 6,000 of them in the army of Antigonus. In the Achaean armies mercenaries formed more than half the troops. The kings and the tyrants of Sparta had no other soldiers.⁴

first war between Rome and Philip, he was the ally of the latter. He was therefore concerned in the treaty of 205, but he held himself aloof from the second war, now about to commence.

¹ Polybius, iv. 12. However, in 191, the Rhodians joined the Roman fleet with twenty-five decked vessels (Livy, xxxvi. 45), and in 190 with thirty-five. But the fact cited in the text shows what contemptible wars at this time disturbed the Greek world.

² Lysiscus expressed the true idea of the Greeks—Alexander has subjugated Asia to the Greeks. (Polybius, ix. 11.) Hence they flung themselves upon this prey with more avidity than did the Spaniards in the sixteenth century upon the New World, and we know what ills the conquest of America caused in the end to Spain.

³ Livy, xxxi. 43.

⁴ See Polybius, ii. 13, in regard to Cleomenes and Antigonus; iv. 13, in regard to the

Wealth obtained in evil ways proverbially takes wings. Asiatic and African gold did not remain in Greece, because industry was there no longer. The cities were depopulated and in want. Of Megalopolis it was said, "Great city, great desert." Destitution prevailed everywhere. Mantinea, men and property together, was not worth 300 talents, and Polybius would not give, he says, 6,000 talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. Attica, two centuries earlier, was the richest country in Greece. A recent estimate of its landed property and personalities had given but 5,750 talents, half the sum which Pericles kept in reserve in the public treasury before the war in which his fortunes waned. And this very people, who at that time spent a thousand talents for a single temple, to-day being required by arbitrators to pay 500, had not the means of doing it. Hence, armies were small, affairs were on a petty scale; a little noise about trifling matters; while across the Adriatic resounded the grand tumult of the mortal strife between Hannibal and Rome. All the memories of other days cannot make us believe that this worn-out people, a prey to confusion and giddiness, are yet capable of devotion and heroism. "Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!"

In certain cities the administration of justice was suspended; there were tribunals that remained closed twenty years, not for lack of criminals, but for lack of judges upon whom the factions could agree;¹ society was relapsing into barbarism. The family, like the city, was perishing. Many avoided marriage to escape the duties of paternity, and refused to bring up the children born from their transient unions.² This artist race even ceased to respect that which is still the best part of their fame—their masterpieces of art. Before the Heruli and the Goths came, bringing devastation into Greece, the Greeks themselves burned their own temples, destroyed their pictures, overthrew their statues; in one day Philip of Macedon caused the destruction of 2,000 statues in the capital of Aetolia. "This man," said the Athenian deputies at the assembly at Naupactus, "this man makes a sacrilegious war upon

Achaens; iv. 17, v. 8, concerning Philip; v. 3, the Eleans; and in regard to Athens, Livy, xxxi. 24. Crete furnished mercenaries to all the world, even to the pirates. (Strabo, x. 477.) Agesilaus (Plut., *Ages.*) had already employed hired troops.

¹ Polybius, xx. 6.

² *Id.*, xxxvii. 4

the gods; he burns temples, mutilates statues, and destroys even the tombs of the dead.”¹ The Lacedaemonians did the same at Megalopolis, the Aetolians at Dium, Prusias at Pergamus and Lemnos. And the sober Polybius, indignant at these sacrilegious frenzies, exclaims in his turn, “Verily, these men are insane; they address to the gods their supplications; they offer victims to them; they bend the knee before their images; they are as superstitious as women, and they lay waste their temples.”²

Doubtless there were still enlightened and patriotic Greeks, and when the question shall be clearly put between Greece and Rome, between liberty and submission, we shall again find sentiments and impulses worthy of a great people. But it is too late. The Achaean league could no longer bring safety—the moment for that has passed; nor could the federative system, into which a skillful aggressor can too easily bring dissension; the only thing now possible would be a close alliance with Macedon under a great prince. Let us see whether that great prince existed.

III. MACEDON.

SURROUNDED by the sea and by rugged mountains, inhabited by a warlike race devoted to her kings and proud of the position



COIN OF OPUS.³

they had made for her in the world, Macedon was truly a powerful State. As in the case of Carthage, Rome made three attempts before she could achieve her rival's destruction. If Philip V. had possessed nothing but Macedon, his conduct no doubt would have been as simple as his interests, but he held also Thessaly and Euboea, Opus in Locris, Elataea and the larger part of Phocis, the Acrocorinthus

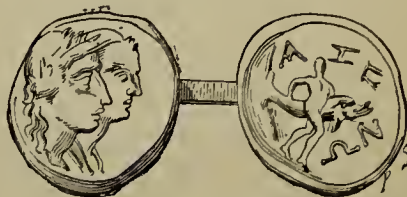
¹ In regard to Philip's ravages in Attica, Cf. Livy, xxxi. 5, 24, 26, 30. Not content with throwing down the statues, he caused them to be broken. At Thermus he burned the temple and threw down 2,000 statues. (Polybius, v. 9; xi. 3.) The Aetolians, on their part, destroyed the ancient sanctuary of Dodona, and at Dium the temple and the pictures of the kings of Macedon. The plundering of Delphi by the Phocians will be remembered.

² Polybius, xxxii. 25.

³ Head of Ceres. Reverse, OPONTION, and Ajax, sword in hand. Didrachm of Opus.

and Orchomenus in Arcadia. In three of the Cyclades, Andros, Paros, and Cythnos, he maintained garrisons; also in Thasos and some cities of the coast of Thrace and of Asia; a considerable part of Caria belonged to him. These remote and scattered possessions multiplied hostile contracts. His Thracian towns, Perinthus, Sestus, and Abydus, which commanded the passage from Europe into Asia, made him dangerous to Attalus of Pergamus; his cities in Caria and the island of Iasus, to the Rhodians; Euboea, to the Athenians; Thessaly and Phocis, to the Aetolians; his possessions in the Peloponnesus, to Lacedaemon.

With more consistency in his plans and a wiser use of his strength he might have ruled over all Greece, for he held its fetters, to quote the words of Antipater. But he always made war less as a king than a predatory chief, rushing in one campaign from Macedon to Cephallenia, thence to Thermus, from Aetolia to Sparta, completing the destruction of no enemy, leaving each enterprise incomplete.³ In these wars his numerical strength never exceeded a few thousand men, and Plutarch speaks of the difficulties he had in raising troops.⁵ He could not withdraw soldiers from Macedon, for whenever they knew of his absence the Thracians, the Dardanians, and the Illyrian tribes fell upon his kingdom. To conquer these barbarians, to crush the Aetolian league, to expel the tyrants of Sparta and to gain over by gentleness the rest of

DIDRACHM OF THASOS.¹COIN OF ABYDUS.²COIN OF IASUS.⁴

¹ Satyr carrying off a woman. Reverse, hollow square. Silver coin of Thasos of very ancient date.

² Bust of Diana. Reverse, ABYΔHNΩN ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, an eagle and a torch; the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of Abydus.

³ Polybius, v. 1-15.

⁴ Heads of the Dioscuri coupled. Reverse, ΙΑΣΕΩΝ. Figure leaning upon a dolphin. Bronze coin of Iasus.

⁵ Plutarch, *Flamininus*.

the Greeks—this was the *rôle* Philip proposed to himself. But he had not the ability to play it. If it is not true that, as Polybius asserts, he caused Aratus to be poisoned,¹ he certainly alienated his allies by his excesses and his perfidy. “A king,” he dared to say, “is bound neither by his word nor by moral laws.” The eyes of the most careless observer saw drawing near “the tempest which the Aetolians were attracting from the

IASUS.²

West.”³ Philip only neither saw nor understood this.⁴ And when the Senate sent to declare war upon him he was fighting in Asia against Attalus and the Rhodians for the possession of some unimportant places in Thrace and Caria. His reply to the Roman messenger, Aemilius Lepidus, shows his mocking levity in the

¹ The assertion of Polybius seems to be ill supported by evidence. Notice, *passim*, the reproaches that he addresses to Philip on account of his conduct at Messene and at Argos; also the speech of Aristenes. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

² Part of the wall of Iasus, with eastern side. (*Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, Lebas and Waddington, pl. lxvi., fig. 1.) This city was then in possession of Macedon.

³ Speech of Lysiscus, Polybius, ix. 11. As the Second Punic War drew near its close, the fears of the Greeks increased, and the conviction that they were destined to swell the number of the conquests of Rome. (Polybius, xi. 6.) “Threatened by Carthage and by Rome,” said a Greek, “we shall escape from servitude only if Philip can regard all Greece as his own and watch over her.” (Polybius, v. 104.)

⁴ Except in making his treaty with Hannibal: “From this moment the idea of conquering Italy occupied him even in his dreams.” (Polybius, v. 101–8.)

midst of most serious affairs. He would forgive him, he said, the arrogance of his language for three reasons — first, that he was young and inexperienced; next, because he was the handsomest man of his age; and lastly, because he bore a Roman name.¹

The Roman power, until now limited to the West, was about to penetrate into that Eastern world belonging to the successors of Alexander. It is Rome's immortal honor, the one immense benefit which makes us forget all her unjust wars, that for a certain length of time she united these two worlds, which are in their nature so divided in interests and so foreign one to the other; that she mingled and blended the brilliant but corrupt civilization of the East with the barbaric energy of the West. The Mediterranean became a Roman lake — *mare nostrum*, they called it; and the same life circulated upon all its shores, called, for the first and last time, to share a common existence.

A century and a half of efforts and of prudence were required for this result: for Rome, not working for a man, but for a patient aristocracy, had no need to attain the end at a single leap. Instead of rearing suddenly one of those colossal monarchies formed like the statue of gold, with feet of clay, she slowly founded an empire which fell only under the weight of years and of hordes from the North. After Zama, she might have attempted the conquest of Africa, but she left Carthage and the Numidians to wear one another out. After Cynoscephalae and Magnesia, Greece and Asia were ready for the yoke, but she still left to them fifty years more of liberty. The truth is, she still keeps, with her pride in the Roman name and her insatiable desire for power, some of her early virtues. The Popillii are more numerous than the Verres at present; she had rather rule the world; later, she will set herself to pillage it. And so, wherever any strength is observed, thither Rome despatches her legions; everything like power is destroyed; ties uniting States, leagues of whatever kind are broken up; and when she recalls her soldiers they leave behind them anarchy and weakness. The work of the legions being ended, that of the Senate begins: first, force, afterward tact and policy, and the old

¹ Polybius, xvi. 15.

senators, grown gray amid the alarms of the Second Punic War, seem now to enjoy themselves far more in that play of state-craft, always the highest of Italian arts.

Many reasons, moreover, enjoined this reserve. Against the Gauls and the Samnites, against Pyrrhus and Hannibal, that is to say, in the defence of Latium and of Italy, Rome had used all her strength; it was a question of life or death. In the wars in Greece and Asia only her ambition and her pride were at stake, and prudence required that a little rest should be allowed to the plebeians and the allies. The Senate also had too many affairs upon their hands at the same time—wars in Spain, in Corsica, in the Cisalpine, and in Istria—to permit any serious handling of the Eastern question; two legions only were sent to fight with Philip and with Antiochus. It was enough to conquer them, but not enough to plunder them. Besides, from the moment when the Romans began to penetrate into this Greek world, where the glory of the past concealed so much present weakness, they felt that they could never be too moderate. Those pitiless enemies of the Volscians and the Samnites in their next wars no longer ravage the country and exterminate their adversaries. Not for their own interests did they come, they said, to shed their blood; it was to advocate the cause of oppressed Greece. And this language, this conduct, they never changed, even after victory.

The first act of Flaminius, on the morrow of Cynoscephalae, will be to proclaim liberty to the Greeks. All who bore that honored name seemed to have a right to their protection, and the little Greek cities of Caria and along the Thracian and the Asiatic coasts will receive with wonder their liberty at the hands of a people whom they scarcely know. All will be deceived by this air of disinterested kindness. No one will observe that what Rome is doing in giving independence to their states and cities has the effect of destroying the confederations just struggling to reform, in which perhaps might be the hope of new strength for Greece. Separating them from one another, and attaching them to herself by a tie of self-interested gratitude, she placed them all unconsciously to themselves under her influence. She made them her allies; and it is well known what became finally of the allies of Rome. So profitable did the Senate find this policy of



ILLYRIA, GREECE, MACEDONIA, THRACE AND WESTERN PART OF ASIA MINOR.
SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR. WARS AGAINST ANTIOCHUS AND THE GALATIANS. THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR.

sowing dissensions everywhere and awakening on all sides extinct rivalries, that for more than half a century they followed no other.

¹ Reverse of a coin of the Servilian family bearing the head of Flora, already represented.
(vol. i. p. 623.)



WARRIORS JOINING THEIR SWORDS ·

CHAPTER XXVII.

SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200-197).¹

I. FIRST OPERATIONS OF ROME IN GREECE.

THE conqueror of Zama had scarcely descended from the Capitol, and the temples yet resounded with thanksgivings, when one of the consuls came, in the name of the Senate, to say to the assembled centuries: "Will you, do you decree, that war be declared against king Philip and the Macedonians for having done injury and violence to the allies of the Roman people?" The centuries unanimously refused the proposal. They had had enough of glory and battles; peace and rest were the objects of their desire; but the Roman people belonged to themselves no longer. They had become the instrument of a self-imposed necessity, which must inevitably be wielded for the conquest of the world.

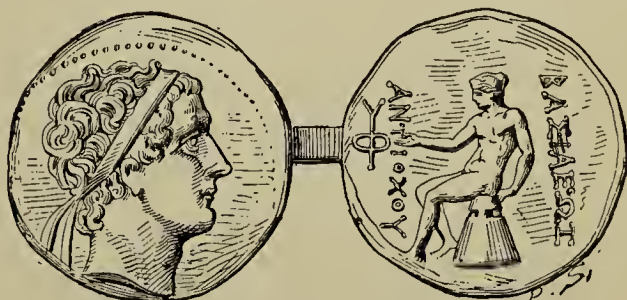
Vainly did the Roman nation now desire to stop in the bloody career wherein its own liberty was also to perish. Victory had made it a king, and it must needs accept the anxieties, the perils, and the proud misery of its royal condition. "The senators," said Baebius, the tribune, "wish to make war endless, to the end that their dictatorship may be endless." The consul reminded them of the treaty with Hannibal, of the 4,000 mercenaries sent to Zama,² of Philip's threats against the free cities of Greece and Asia, his attacks upon the allies of Rome in the East, upon Attalus of Pergamus, the Rhodians, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, the ward of the Senate. At that very moment he was besieging Athens. Athens, the consul said, would be a new Saguntum, and Philip another Hannibal. The war must be carried into Greece if they desired not to have it in Italy. "Go to the vote, then," he said, in conclusion,

¹ For the first Macedonian war, see vol. ii., p. 20.

² Livy, xxx. 42.

“and may the gods who have accepted my sacrifices and have given me auspicious omens inspire you to decree what the Senate has resolved.” The people yielded. The Senate, however, had so little real anxiety in the case that they armed for Italy and the provinces but six legions in all, although the war was then recommencing in the Cisalpine, where Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, was fomenting disturbances among the Insubrians.

We have seen what was the situation in Greece and in the Eastern world, and have noted the strength of the different States and their alliances. Philip had lately allied himself with Antiochus III. of Syria and with Prusias of Bithynia, for the purpose of despoiling the Thracian and Asiatic possessions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was in his turn defended

TETRASTATERE OF ANTIOCHUS III.¹

by Rhodes and by Attalus of Pergamus. In Greece, his declared enemies were, Sparta under the rule of Nabis; Athens, which had just exchanged rights of citizenship with Rhodes; and the Aetolians, who ruled from one sea to the other² and occupied Thermopylae; while his excesses left him but lukewarm friends. The consul Sulpicius, sent against him, came over bringing but two legions; Carthage sent them corn, Masinissa furnished them Numidian troops, Rhodes and Attalus contributed ships, and the Aetolians, after some hesitation, sent their [Thessalian] cavalry — the best in Greece. Nabis, without declaring for Rome, was already in open war with the Achaeans.

COIN OF CHALCIS.³

As soon as the campaign opened, Philip, notwithstanding his activity, found himself hemmed in by enemies on every side. A lieutenant of Sulpicius

¹ Crowned head of Antiochus. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXΟΥ, and a monogram. Apollo seated upon the *omphalos*, or central point of the world. From the *Cabinet de France*. (33.95 gr.)

² See p. 79. Livy however mentions several Phocian towns in alliance with Philip.

³ Woman's head. Reverse, XΑΛ and an eagle tearing a serpent. Drachma of Chalcis in Euboea.

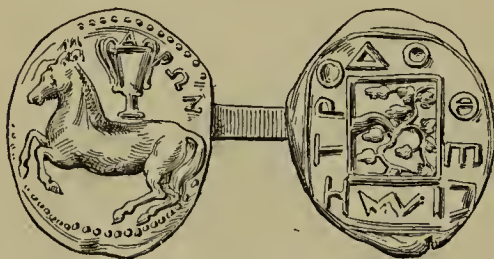
sent to the help of Athens, burned Chalcis, the chief city of Euboea ; the Aetolians with the Athamanes ravaged Thessaly ; Pleuratus, king of Illyria and the Dardanians, came down into Macedon ; lastly, another lieutenant pushed a reconnaissance into Dassaretia. From this side Sulpicius attacked, that is, by Lychnidus and what was afterwards the Egnatian road, having as his object the stronghold of Heracleia (near Monastir). Philip arrived in time to cover it, and closed to the Romans the defile through which they would have been able to come down into the fertile fields of Lyncestis. But in this mountainous region the Macedonian phalanx was useless, and although Philip had gathered 24,000 men, he could not hinder his adversary from turning his position on the north and coming down into the plain by way of Pelagonia.¹ At the end of a few months, therefore, Sulpicius found



HERACLEIA IN
MACEDON.²

himself in the heart of Macedon ; but winter was drawing near ; without magazines, without strongholds, he could not winter in an enemy's country : he therefore returned to Apollonia.

During the summer, the combined fleet had driven Philip's garrisons out of the Cyclades, had taken Oreus, and pillaged the coasts of Macedon (200). A few predatory excursions into Attica, some slight advantages gained over the Aetolians, who had made incursions into Thessaly, and the taking of Maroneia, a rich and powerful Thracian city, did not balance



COIN OF MARONEIA.³

for Philip the danger of having suffered the enemy to penetrate into the very heart of the Macedonian kingdom.

The new consul, Villius, found the army in a state of mutiny, and passed the entire campaign (199) in restoring discipline. He seems, however, to have only succeeded by discharging the mutineers,

¹ Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 302.

² Head of Hercules. Reverse, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ, in a hollow square. Hemidrachm of Heracleia.

³ Galloping horse ; above, a vase, and the first letters of the name Maroneia. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΟΘΕ, a magistrate's name, surrounding a vine branch enclosed in a square. Tetradrachm of Maroneia.

who, having entered upon this war in the hope of a rapid campaign and much plunder, had found themselves disappointed in both respects. At least, it is certain that the successor of Villius was obliged to bring out 9,000 fresh troops. Encouraged by this inaction, the king took the offensive, and entrenched himself upon both sides of the Aoüs, in an impregnable position covering Thessaly and Epirus, whence he could cut off the Romans from the sea, if they should recommence the expedition of Sulpicius.

The people had raised to the consulate Titus Quinctius Flaminius, although he was but thirty-two years of age, and had held no other office save the quaestorship the preceding year; but his reputation anticipated his services; he was, moreover, a member of one of those noble families who had already begun to set themselves above the laws. A good general, a better statesman, pliant and crafty, a Greek rather than a Roman, he represented that new generation who were abandoning ancestral traditions and adopting foreign manners. Flaminius was the true author of that Machiavellian policy which gave up Greece defenceless into the hands of the legions. He has been called a second Scipio, but he has neither the noble-mindedness nor the heroic courage of Africanus. The blood of Philopoemen and of Hannibal lies at his door. It is noticeable that the Roman leaders are already less noble, as the interests they serve are becoming less worthy.



TITUS QUINCTIUS
FLAMINIUS.¹

Flaminius at first did no better than his predecessor. The fruitless attempt made by Sulpicius had shown that Macedon could be reached only with difficulty through the mountains on the northwest, and the attack on the south by the fleet had resulted in nothing but some indecisive predatory raids. It remained to try a direct attack in front. But Philip had posted himself in a narrow gorge between two mountains, descending with abrupt, rocky precipices to the river which occupied nearly the whole of the pass.²

For six weeks Flaminius remained before the impregnable camp of the Macedonians. There were skirmishes every day, but

¹ Head of Flaminius, from a stater struck in Macedon.

² Livy, xxxii. 5. This defile is now the Cléïsoura pass, at the confluence of the Desnizta and the Zoïoussa (Aoüs).

“when the Romans strove to climb the ascent, they were overwhelmed with darts and arrows which the Macedonians poured in upon their flanks; so the skirmishes were exceedingly sharp, and many on both sides were killed and wounded; but this was not decisive, nor of a nature to end the war.”¹

Discouragement was beginning to be felt, when Charops, an Epirot chief, whose country was wasted by the Macedonians, furnished the consul with the means of abandoning this dangerous inaction. He sent to him a shepherd, who, accustomed to lead his flocks through the defile of Cleisoura, knew all the paths over the mountain, and now offered to lead the Romans in three days to a point whence they would command the Macedonian camp. After satisfying himself that the shepherd came in truth from Charops, Flaminius selected a force, consisting of 4,000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry, gave them orders to move only by night, as there was a moon at the time sufficient to light their road, and directed them on arriving at the designated spot to kindle a great bonfire. On the third day, the signal was duly made; a mighty shout rang up from the depths of the pass, and at the same moment was heard the reply from the heights above which commanded the royal camp. The Macedonians, attacked in front and threatened from the rear,



COIN OF GOMPHI.³

were struck with panic; they took to flight, and did not stop till they reached Thessaly, beyond the mountain chain of the Pindus.²

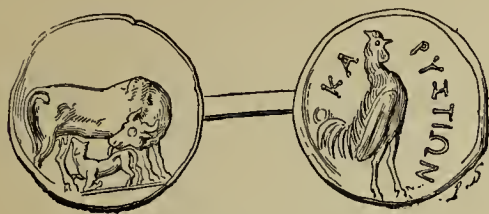
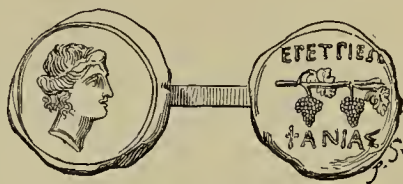
At news of this victory, which gave Epirus into the power of Flaminius, the Aetolians fell upon Thessaly, and Amynander, king of the Athamanes, opened to the Romans, through the defile of Gomphi, an entrance into this province. Philip, not daring to risk a battle, had withdrawn into the vale of Tempe, after pillaging the open country, burning the unfortified cities, and driving the population into the mountains. This conduct presented a dangerous contrast to that of the Romans, who were held by Flaminius to

¹ Plutarch, *Flaminius*, 5.

² The memory of this event lingers yet in Epirus, clothed however in one of those legends with which the popular imagination delights to invest historic fact. (Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, i., p. 302.)

³ The obverse, a head of Medusa; the reverse, ΓΟΜΦΕΩΝ; Jupiter seated, leaning with his left hand upon a long sceptre, and holding his thunderbolt in the right hand. A copper coin.

the strictest discipline, and had suffered with hunger rather than commit any depredations in Epirus.¹ Many cities, therefore, opened their gates, and Flaminius had reached the banks of the Peneus,

DIDRACHM OF CARYSTUS.²COIN OF ERETRIA.³

when the courageous resistance offered by Atrax arrested his victorious march. Near at hand was the important city of Larissa, which the Macedonians held with a large force. The consul fell back.

In this campaign the allied fleet had taken, in Euboea, Carystus and Eretria (198), "whence they took away a quantity of statues, of ancient pictures, and masterpieces of every sort." The Macedonians found there were disarmed and ordered to pay a ransom of 300 sesterces each.

Instead of losing the winter as his predecessors had done, by returning to take up his quarters near Apollonia, Flaminius led his legions to Anticyra, upon the Corinthian Gulf, whither the vessels at Corcyra, his port of supplies, could bring him in all safety the provisions of which he had need. He was here in the very centre of Greece, and while his troops were capturing the smaller cities in Phocis, and besieging the strongly fortified town of Elatea, which they at last took, his negotiations, his threats, the advice of adherents, and new hostilities on the

HEAD OF DEMETER, FOUND AT APOLLONIA.⁴

¹ Livy, xxxii. 14, 15.

² Cow and calf. On the reverse, a cock, and the legend ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ.

³ Woman's head. On the reverse, ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ(Ν) ΦΑΝΙΑΣ and two bunches of grapes. Eretrian drachma.

⁴ Demeter (Ceres) found by M. Heuzey (*Mission de Macédoine*, pl. xxxii).

part of Nabis, compelled the Achaeans to accept his alliance.¹ He had promised to restore to them Corinth, but the Macedonian garrison repulsed all attacks, and even captured Argos, which it gave up to Nabis. This furious tyrant at once proclaimed two laws, one decreeing the abolition of debts, the other, the distribution of lands, showing very clearly the character that all the revolutions of the time assumed in Greece. Nabis, having drawn from Philip all the advantages that he could expect, now went over to the Roman alliance; the rest of the Peloponnesus had already entered it.

Flaminius was desirous to terminate the war himself by a peace, or better still, a victory. Philip having asked for a conference, he agreed to it, and on either side were taken those jealous precautions so much employed in the Middle Ages. The interview took place on the shore of the Maliac Gulf. The king made his appearance in a war-vessel escorted by five barges, but refused to land, and discoursed from the prow of his galley. "This is very inconvenient," Flaminius said; "if you would land, we should converse better." The king refusing, Flaminius added, "Of what are you afraid?" "I am afraid of nothing," rejoined the king, "save the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the men who surround you." The day passed in vain recriminations; on the morrow the king consented to disembark on condition that Flaminius should send away the allied chiefs, and landed with two of his officers. The consul had with him no one but a tribune; a truce of two months was agreed upon, during which the king and the allies should send an embassy to the Senate. The Greeks first made their complaints; when the Macedonians wished to answer with a long speech, they were summoned to answer only to the question, whether their master would consent to withdraw the garrisons he had placed in the Greek cities, and on their reply that they had no instructions on this point, they were dismissed. This was what Flaminius wished.

In central Greece the Boeotians only hesitated.² Flaminius proposed a conference. The strategus, Antiphilus, came to meet

¹ Philip had, however, relinquished to the league, at the beginning of this campaign, Orchomenus, Heraeum, and Triphylia; also to the Eleans, Aliphera. (Livy, xxxii. 5.)

² The Aearnanians remained faithful to Philip up to the battle of Cynoscephalae.

him with the principal Thebans. Flaminius advances almost alone, accompanied by the king of Pergamus; he speaks to the deputies individually, he flatters and distracts them; they walk on as they talk, and enter the city, and go as far as the market-place, while a great crowd follows, eager to see a consul, and to hear a Roman who speaks their language so well. But, at some distance, 2,000 legionaries were following; while Flaminius held the crowd in rapt attention, his soldiers seized upon the fortifications, and Thebes was taken.¹

In this novel winter campaign Flaminius had conquered Greece, had reduced Philip's army to his own subjects, and was now able to meet him in the field. Upon the return of spring, the consul went in search of Philip as far as Pherae in Thessaly, taking with him 26,000 men, of whom 6,000 were Greeks, and among these Greeks 500 Cretans. Philip, who for twenty years had been wasting his strength in mad enterprises, was able to gather 25,000 soldiers only by enrolling boys of sixteen.³ Of these 16,000 composed the phalanx.



DRACHMA OF PHERAE.²

The diplomacy of the Senate rather than its legions had gained the honors of the first Macedonian war. In the present war, the legion with its rapid movements, and its missile weapons, the javelins and the formidable *pilum*, was now to find itself engaged against Alexander's phalanx, a dense mass, whose soldiers placed sixteen deep, and armed with lances twenty-one feet long, seemed a wall bristling with pikes. Since the battle of Chaeronea, which had prostrated Greece at the feet of Macedon, that is to say, for 141 years, the phalanx had been esteemed the most formidable engine of war ever invented by man.⁴

The Romans were along the shore of the Pagasaeon Gulf, within reach of their fleet; Philip, at Larissa, his head-quarters. The two armies were on their way to meet each other, and for two whole days marched side by side, separated only by a chain

¹ Livy, xxxiii. 1 and 2.

² Naked figure standing by the side of an ox which he is about to sacrifice. On the reverse, a horse galloping, and the name of the city ΦΕΡΑ in old Greek letters.

³ Livy, xxxiii. 3.

⁴ [Cf. note, p. 75.—Ed.]

of hills, and neither of them suspecting this dangerous neighborhood. Imagine Hannibal in the Macedonian camp!¹

The battle took place in June, 197, near Scotussa, in a plain where were many scattered hillocks, called dogs'-heads, *Cynoscephalae*. The action was begun, contrary to the design of both generals, by the Aetolian cavalry, and Philip had neither time nor means to bring his phalanx into order. Upon the irregular ground it lost its strength in losing its solidity; the shock of Masinissa's elephants, an attack in the rear skilfully directed, and the uneven pressure of the legionaries broke it; 8,000 Macedonians remained dead upon the field. The destruction of this phalanx, which the Greeks believed to be invincible, inspired them with an admiration for the tactics and the bravery of the Romans which Polybius himself shares.

Philip, with the fragments of his army, took refuge in the city of Gonnus, at the entrance of the gorges of Tempe, on the highway between Thessaly and Macedon. Thus posted, he protected his own kingdom; but having neither strength nor courage to continue the war, he proposed negotiations. The Aetolians were eager to push the war to the last extremity. Flaminius refused to do this, boasting the magnanimity of the Romans. True to their habit of sparing the vanquished, he said that Rome would never destroy a kingdom which sheltered Greece from the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Gauls, and whose existence, he dared not



COIN OF THE
ORESTI.²

add aloud, was necessary to the policy of the Senate, to balance the power of the Aetolians. Philip recalled his garrisons from the cities and islands of Greece and Asia which they still occupied, relinquished all control over the Thes-salians, and gave to the Perrhaebi, that is, to the Romans, Gonnus, his real sea-port. He surrendered his fleet, with the exception of five transports, disbanded his army with the exception

of 5,000 troops, pledged himself never to keep war-elephants again,

¹ Livy's remarks (xxxiii. 5) confirm ours respecting the difference between a Greek and a Roman camp.

² ΟΡΗΣΤΙΟΝ, man leading two oxen. The reverse of this octodrachm of the Oresti bears a hollow square, like so many other coins of an early epoch.

paid 500 talents,¹ promised an annual tribute of fifty for ten years, and bound himself by an oath not to make war without consent of the Senate.

After being disarmed, he was humiliated by being forced to receive and to pardon the Macedonians who had betrayed him. Flaminius stipulated even that the Oresti should be made independent, a Macedonian tribe who had revolted during the war, and whose country was one of the keys of the kingdom on the side of Roman Illyria. As a pledge of the fulfilment of these conditions, Philip gave hostages, among whom the Romans required his young son, Demetrius.

While Macedon was accepting these disastrous conditions, Antiochus, king of Syria, at the instigation of Hannibal, was making ready his forces. "In thus placing a peace between two wars," says Plutarch, "concluding one before the other began, Flaminius destroyed at one blow the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus."

The commissioners associated by the Senate with Flaminius were desirous that Roman garrisons should replace Philip's at Corinth, at Chalcis, and at Demetrias; but this would have been to throw off the mask too quickly. The Greeks would have understood that with "the chains of Greece" given into the hands of Rome, all liberty must be henceforth illusory. Public opinion, so fickle in such a country, would have been a danger. Already the Aetolians, the most audacious of all, were arousing it by ballads and speeches. They maintained that their cavalry had gained the battle of Cynoscephalae, accused the Romans of undervaluing their services, and mocked at the Greeks who believed themselves free because the fetters they had worn on their feet had now been put around their necks. Flaminius perceived that the best means of destroying these accusations and of conquering in advance Antiochus, who now threatened to cross over into Europe, would be to employ against him the weapon which had succeeded so well against Philip, namely, the liberty of the Greeks.

¹ M. Letronne estimates the value of a talent of silver at 5500.90 francs; M. Dureau de la Malle makes a lower estimate, 5216.66 francs. Philip had already paid 400 talents to obtain a truce.

II. PROCLAMATION OF THE LIBERTY OF GREECE.

DURING the celebration of the Isthmian games, to which all Greece had gathered, a herald suddenly ordered silence and made known this decree: "The Roman Senate and T. Quinctius, conqueror of king Philip, restore to the Corinthians, the Phocians, the Locrians, to the island of Euboea and to the tribes of Thessaly, their franchises, laws, and immunity from garrisons and tribute. All Greeks in Europe and Asia are free." There was a burst of delight at this announcement. Twice over the assembly would have the decree repeated, and Flamininus was nearly smothered under wreaths and flowers.¹ "There is, then," they cried, "a nation on earth who fights, at her own risk and peril, for the liberty of races; who crosses the seas to destroy all tyranny and to establish in all places the empire of right, of justice, and of law!" Temples were erected to the liberator of Greece as to a demi-god, and three centuries later Plutarch found these edifices yet in existence, with their priests, their sacrifices, and their sacred chants, "Sing, maidens, the great Jupiter and Rome, and Titus, our deliverer!"

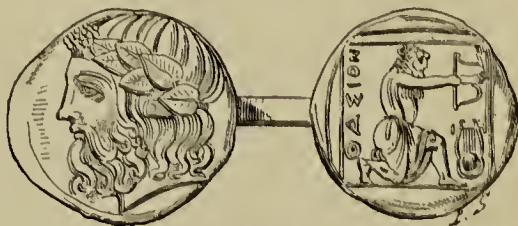
Thus this people, who had no longer the ability to do great deeds for liberty, were still capable of loving it, and rewarded its deceitful semblance with the honors of an apotheosis. When Flamininus embarked for Rome, the Achaeans brought to him 1,200 Roman prisoners taken captive in the wars of Hannibal, and sold into Greece, whom they now redeemed at their own expense. Only the Greeks knew how to express gratitude in such a way (194).

Rome took nothing from the spoils of Macedon. Locris and Phocis went back to the Aetolian league; Corinth to the Achaean. To the king of Illyria, Pleuratus, was given Lychmidus and the country of the Parthenii adjacent to Macedonia and leading into it; to the chief of the Athamanes, Amynander, all the places that he had taken during the war; to Emmenes, son of Attalus of Pergamus, the island of Aegina; to Athens, Paros, Delos, and

¹ Plutarch, *Flam.*, 10

Imbros; to Rhodes, the cities of Caria;¹ Thasos was declared free. If the legions remained in Greece it was because Antiochus was approaching, and the Romans were solicitous, they said, after having set Greece free, to defend her liberties.

Flamininus had, however, ulterior designs. Although they had got Corinth, the Achaeans were not strong enough to resist Nabis, who held control of Gythion, Sparta, and Argos. This Nabis was a detestable tyrant, whose cruelty is matter of history. Rome, however, had received him



COIN OF THASOS.²

into her alliance, expelling him from it when she believed herself to have no further need of him. In an assembly gathered at Corinth, the pro-consul represented to the allies the antiquity and renown of Argos: Ought a Grecian capital to be left in the hands of a tyrant? Whether it were so or not was a matter of small importance to Romans. Their glory in having liberated Greece would be a little tarnished, no doubt, but if the allies did not fear for themselves the contagion of slavery, the Romans would not interfere and would agree to the decision of the majority. The Achaeans applauded these hypocritical counsels and armed 11,000 men.³ This zeal alarmed Flamininus; it was his wish to humble Nabis, but not destroy him. His purposed delays, his demands for money and supplies, fatigued the allies; they soon suffered him to negotiate with the tyrant, who abandoned to him Argolis, Gythion, and the maritime cities (195).

Nabis therefore remained in the Peloponnesus, an enemy to the Achaeans, as Philip in the north, an enemy to the Aetolian league. Rome was now able to call home her legions, for with the deceitful phrase, "the liberty of States," she had rendered union still more impossible and augmented hatreds, weakness, and factions. Each city already had its partisans of Rome, like Thebes, where the boeotarch Brachyllas had lately been assassi-

¹ Livy, xxxiii. 30.

² Head of Bacchus, crowned with ivy. The reverse, ΘΑΣΙΩΝ. Hercules kneeling and drawing the bow; before him a lyre. Tetradrachm of Thasos. (15.32 gr.)

³ Flamininus had 50,000 before Sparta (Livy, xxxiv. 38), and Sparta was walled only around the lower part of the town.

nated; and these men in their blindness drove Greece into slavery.¹ It therefore was no longer necessary to hold the country in chains; Flamininus unhesitatingly withdrew his garrisons from Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Aerocorinthus.

Before leaving Hellas he offered a golden crown to the god at Delphi, and consecrated in his temple silver bucklers, upon which were engraved Greek verses celebrating, not the victory at Cynoscephalae, but the restoration of liberty to the Hellenic people. This was the pass-word; the Romans desired to figure as liberators, and the Greeks willingly lent themselves to the illusion. In reality, when Flamininus returned to enjoy a triumph at Rome, he brought with him that useful protectorate of Greece for which all the successors of Alexander had striven in vain (194 B. C.).²

¹ It is said certain individuals were in the pay of Rome; for instance, Charops, in Epirus; Dieacarchus and Antiphilus, in Boeotia; Aristaeus and Diophanes, in Achaia; Dinoerates, in Messene. Polybius, however, praises the virtue and patriotism of Aristaeus, and Rome was not fond of buying consciences with ready money. She practised a corruption less ignoble and more efficacious. In all these republics there were, as we have seen, two parties; one of these she took under her protection and raised to power by her influence. This had been her policy in Italy, and became her policy everywhere.

² Livy, xxxiii. 28. Flamininus, however, did not forget that the Senate and the people required of their generals to bring back gold. He poured into the treasury 3,713 pounds of gold in ingots, 43,270 pounds of silver, and 14,514 gold "Philips." (Plut. *Flam.*, 14.)

³ Hero on horseback, striking with his lance. Gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,850.



HERO ON HORSEBACK.³

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WAR AGAINST THE KING OF SYRIA AND THE GALATIANS (192-188).

I. PRELIMINARIES OF THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS.

THE ostentatious disinterestedness that Rome had just exhibited in Greece—a disinterestedness which no one could as yet understand—was a politic reply to the efforts of Hannibal towards forming a coalition. Brought back to Carthage by a defeat, Hannibal found himself able to seize the authority and commence reforms with a view to regenerate the country. He caused himself to be chosen *suffete*, and with the support of his veterans and the people, he overthrew the oligarchical tyranny which had been established during the war.¹ The centumvirs had held office for life; he rendered their term of service annual. The finances were shamefully in disorder; he instituted a severe reform, compelling restitutions so that the public treasury was able, without oppressing the people, to pay the tribute pledged to Rome.²

The troops, regularly paid, were augmented in numbers, and until more important services should be required of them, they were employed in useful labors in the surrounding country. Meanwhile, to avoid a premature rupture, Hannibal banished his emissary, Hamilear, who was keeping up the war in Cisalpine Gaul, he submitted to the Roman decision unfavorable to himself in a difficulty with Masinissa, and he despatched to the Romans for the war in Macedonia 300,000 bushels of corn.³ But secret

¹ Carthage had no army whatever in the city, and Hannibal had brought back with him 6,500 of his veterans (App., *Libyca*, 55).

² Livy, xxxiii. 46. In the year 191 the Carthaginians offered to pay off at once the remainder of the tribute due, and to send to Rome an enormous amount of grain.

³ Livy, xxxi. 19.

messengers urged Antiochus to attack, while Philip still resisted, while the Greeks hesitated, and the Cisalpine Gauls and the Spaniards were in arms.

Cynoscephalae overthrew his hopes, and soon three ambassadors appeared at Carthage to demand the surrender of this indefatigable enemy of Rome. Scipio had nobly opposed this resolution; his proud courage was ready to meet Hannibal in a fair field and vanquish him, but not to deal him a murderer's blow. The gallant outlaw, however, had long expected this attack, and a galley secretly kept in readiness bore him to Syria (145).

Antiochus III., emboldened by the successes of the first years of his reign, laid claim to no less than the entire heritage of Seleucus Nicator; in Asia, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, which he had wrested from the king of Egypt, the Senate's ward, and the Greek cities, whose independence Rome had just now proclaimed; in Europe, the Thracian Chersonesus, where he had fortified Lysi-



COIN OF LYSIMACHIA.¹

machia with the view of making it the bulwark of his kingdom; and finally he went so far as to include no less than Thrace and Macedon itself in his audacious claims. He gained over Byzantium by making concessions to her commercial in-

terests; the Galatians, by presents and threats; Ariarathus, the Cappadocian, by giving him one of his daughters in marriage; and he sought to purchase the neutrality of Egypt by offering to the young king his other daughter, with the Syrian sea-coast for her dowry.

Vainly the Senate multiplied embassies, counsels, and threats. Antiochus replied haughtily, "I do not concern myself at all with what you do in Italy; do not interfere in what I may do in Asia." The arrival of Hannibal decided the king for war. This great man offered to re-commence with 11,000 men and 100 vessels his Second Punic War. On the way he would arouse Carthage, and while he should occupy the Romans in Italy, the king should cross over into Greece, gathering all the Greek nations, and

¹ Head believed to be that of Alexander III. On the reverse, ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΩΝ, and a monogram; lion *courant*. Bronze coin of Lysimachia.

at the first news of the Roman disasters would descend upon Italy and give the last blow to the tottering power of Rome. In this way Hannibal desired to attempt with the rich and civilized East that which with the poor and barbarous West he had been unable to achieve. If we had not lost the *Annales* of Ennius we should be perhaps obliged to doubt the reports of these counsels of Hannibal; some fragments from the poet-soldier show the Carthaginian hero less hopeful, and Aulus-Gellius relates a reply of his which would seem to confirm these doubts. "Do you think this is enough for the Romans?" Antiochus asked, exhibiting his gilded troops. "Yes, certainly," replied Hannibal, "however greedy they may be." But this suspiciousness only appeared later when he saw that the king was not willing to be guided by his counsels.

The clear-sightedness of envy had made the Syrian courtiers understand that a man like this could not work in the interests of others, and they murmured in the ears of Antiochus that the Carthaginian, if he should remain faithful, must have all the glory in the event of success. Already the visits which Hannibal had received from one of the Roman ambassadors, who repeated them with perfidious intent, had rendered the Carthaginian an object of suspicion.

Among the deputies of the Senate, legend places Scipio Africanus, for the sake of bringing together the conqueror and the conquered of Zama, in a conference which was said to have taken place at Ephesus. "Who is, in your opinion, the greatest general that ever lived?" Scipio asks. "Alexander of Macedon, who, with a handful of men, defeated innumerable armies and traversed victoriously immense territories."—"And the second?"—"Pyrrhus, who knew better than any other man how to select positions, to arrange his troops for battle, and to manœuvre them upon the field."—"And the third?"—"Myself," rejoined Hannibal, unhesitatingly. "What would you say, then, if you had conquered me?" asked Scipio, laughing. "In that case I should have ranked myself first of all." We relate the story because it has been so often repeated, but it is probably not true. It is one of those dialogues which originated in the schools of the rhetoricians. Hannibal and Scipio meeting again after ten years, on the eve of a great war, would have had other things to say than this foolish

questioning on the one hand, and the too ingenious compliment on the other. One only of the ambassadors, P. Villius, came to Ephesus, and had several interviews with Hannibal in the design of detaching him from the service of Antiochus.¹ The attempt was unsuccessful, but the king conceived suspicions of the Carthaginian's fidelity, and, rejecting the latter's counsels, lent his ear to the extravagant and vain promises of the Aetolian Thoas.

The Aetolians had long boasted of having opened Greece to the Romans and guided them throughout the campaign. If their own account was to be believed they had saved both the honor and the life of Flamininus at Cynoscephalae. "Whilst we were fighting," they used to narrate, "and making for him a rampart with our bodies, he, all day long, was occupied with auspices, with vows and sacrifices, as if he had been a priest."² It had been their expectation to inherit all that Philip had lost, but the Romans had not even restored to them their cities of Thessaly, or Acarnania, or Leucadia, or the places they had themselves conquered, which, by the terms of the first treaty, ought to have been theirs. Their interests were sacrificed, their pride was hurt by the disdainful indifference of Flamininus, who had only harsh words for them, and they dared to compare themselves with Rome, meditating war against her, and threatening her with "their camp on the banks of the Tiber."³ Upon the same day, and without declaration of war, three Aetolian corps appeared before Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta. They hoped to carry these places, and, once established in them, to bid defiance to the Romans. Chalcis repulsed them, Demetrias was taken, and at Sparta, where they appeared in the guise of friends, they murdered Nabis, but, giving themselves up to pillage, left time for Philopoemen to arrive and surround them.

The Achaean general restored Sparta, thus set free, to the league, and this exploit of brigands served only to attach Greece yet more strongly to the party of Rome. At the same time, to keep Macedon neutral, the Senate let it be understood that it was their intention to send back Philip's hostages, and to remit the tribute he had agreed to pay. In Africa, they incited Masinissa to harass Carthage, in order to keep the city from yielding to

¹ Livy, xxxv. 13, 14 and 19.

² Livy, xxxv. 48.

³ xxxv. 33.

Hannibal's solicitations,¹ and seeing the Carthaginian feebleness against Numidia, and the servile eagerness of her nobles to efface or prevent Roman suspicions, the Senate soon ceased to consider Carthage in any degree formidable. In Spain, Cato had lately taken and dismantled all strongholds as far as Baetis.² Finally, in upper Italy the Gauls, crushed by numerous defeats, left the Ligurians to protest alone against the subjugation of Cisalpine.³

II. ANTIOCHUS IN GREECE.—BATTLE AT THERMOPYLAE (192-1).

THE moment was ill chosen for attacking Rome, when everything was yielding to her arms and she was showing increased prudence and activity, sending the adroit Flamininus into Greece, posting an army at Apollonia, and covering with fleets and soldiers the coasts of Italy and Sicily, as if to repulse some formidable threatened invasion. The Aetolians, it is true, had promised Antiochus to incite all Greece and Philip to resistance. On the other hand, the messengers of Antiochus represented him as already crossing the sea with all the armies of Asia, and with gold enough to buy Rome itself,—an interchange of lies, where all concerned were losers. When Antiochus disembarked at Demetrias (September, 192), instead of an army like that of Xerxes, he brought with him 10,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, whom he could pay only by borrowing at heavy interest, and whom he required the Aetolians to provision.⁴ The Aetolians, on their side, had not furnished him with a single ally. It was important to gain over Philip, and Antiochus exasperated him by recalling the rights that he derived from Seleucus, and by maintaining the ridiculous claims to the throne of Macedon asserted by the son of Amynder. In his hurried flight from Cynoscephalae, Philip had not been

¹ Hannibal had secretly despatched to Carthage the Tyrian Aristo, who was denounced to the Senate. (Livy, xxxiv. 56, and App., *Syr.* 8.) According to Cornelius Nepos (*Hannibal*, 7), this general landed himself at Cyrene and called his brother Mago [?] to him; but the Carthaginian Senate in alarm proscribed them both.

² Polybius, xix.

³ The real blow against the Cisalpines had been struck in 193 at the battle of Modena, more than a year before the arrival of Antiochus.

⁴ Livy, xxxv. 44. He had, moreover, six elephants.

able to pay the last honors to the soldiers who had perished upon the battle-field. Antiochus gathered up their bones into a tomb which he caused to be built by his army. This pious solicitude was a bitter reproach to the Macedonian, and he made reply by sending to Rome for permission to fight against the invader of Greece.¹

The King of Syria, meanwhile, endeavored to persuade the Achaeans to declare for him, and in a federal meeting held at Corinth his ambassador, with oriental pomp, made lengthy enumeration of the races which from the Aegean Sea to the Indus were arming in his cause. "All this," rejoined Flaminius, "is much like the entertainment of my host at Chalcis. In the middle of summer his table was covered with the most varied dishes, with game of every kind; but it was only the same viands disguised by

EUBOEAN COIN.²

a skilful cook. Look closely, and under the formidable names of Medes, Cadusians, and the rest, you will find only Syrians." The activity of Flaminius baffled a conspiracy at Athens; but Chalcis, which he had not time to succor, and the entire island of Euboea, revolted. Boeotia, agitated by certain ruined debtors, Elis, and the Athamanians, always faithful to the Aetolians, followed this example. Many Thessalian cities also, notably the strong place Lamia, opened their gates to Antiochus.

COIN OF LAMIA.³

Hannibal, meantime, reiterated his earlier advice. "It is not a crowd of puny states," he said, "that you need to gain, but Philip of Macedon. Should he refuse, crush him between your army and that which Seleucus commands at Lysimachia. Summon, also, from Asia your troops and your ships; let half of your fleet take up a position before Corcyra,

¹ Livy, xxxv. 47. Philip, however, asserted (xxxix. 26) that Antiochus had offered him 3,000 talents, fifty decked vessels, and the cession of all the Greek cities which had before belonged to him. These offers undoubtedly were made either too soon or too late; for Philip certainly saw the advantage that Rome was deriving from all these wars, as appears from his discourse to Nicander in Polybius, xx. fr. 7.

² Head of Ceres. The reverse, ox head. Drachma (Aeginetan) of Euboea, the island "rich in cattle."

³ Head of Bacchus crowned with ivy. On the reverse, ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ, a vase with two handles; above it an ivy leaf; a small vase at the side. Lamian triobol.

the other half in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and then march upon Italy."¹ But in this vast plan the Aetolians and their small interests were ignored; they wasted the campaign in re-taking, one after another, the cities of Thessaly; and during the winter, Antiochus, despite his eight and forty years, forgot, in the delights of a new marriage, that he was playing for his crown against the Romans.

The Senate had time to complete their preparations. To them any war was a serious matter, and especially one in which Hannibal might once more be an opponent, and Italy once more a battleground. They did not, as yet, understand what weakness lay hid under these great names, Greece and Asia; and the successor of Alexander, this prince ruling from the Indus to the Aegean Sea, guided by the famed soldier who had destroyed so many legions, appeared to them a very formidable adversary. As soon as hostilities began, the Senate issued a decree forbidding the magistrates to be absent from Rome, and forbidding senators to leave the city in greater number than five at once. Without oppressing either the Roman people or the allies, very large armies had been collected. One, sent along the banks of the Po, kept the Cisalpines quiet, and closed against Antiochus the passes of the Alps, if he should endeavor to come through Illyria; another near Brundisium guarded the Ionian Sea and protected the coasts against a landing; a third, in reserve at Rome, was ready to be despatched towards whatever quarter might be threatened. The fleet was numerous and was daily increased. Carthage and Masinissa had offered vessels, twenty elephants, 500 Numidians, and immense supplies of corn; Ptolemy and Philip had sent troops and provisions. The subsidies furnished by the King of Egypt were not less than 1,000 pounds of gold and 20,000 pounds of silver, and the two princes had engaged, upon the order of the Senate, at once to invade Greece. Eumenes, whose little kingdom was threatened with destruction by the encroachment of Antiochus' vast empire, and Rhodes, the ally of Egypt, had put all their forces at the disposal of the Romans.

EUMENES IV.²¹ Livy, xxxvi. 3.² Laurelled head of Eumenes IV., from a tetradrachm.

When it became known that Antiochus had landed in Greece with an escort rather than an army, and that consequently an invasion of Italy was not to be expected, the Senate ordered the legions at Brundisium to send a strong detachment to Apollonia and into Epirus. A force of 2,000 men, united with a Macedonian corps, sufficed to drive the Syrians from Larissa, which town they were besieging.

These preparations, these levies of men, these marchings of armies, this beginning of war, had all been made without consulting the people. The consuls of the year 191, assuming office in the Ides of March, which date at that time fell in January, owing to errors of the calendar, presented in the comitia a declaration of war against the King of Syria. No one complained that an act of such importance should be for this assembly a mere formality and nothing more. The people had become habituated during the Second Punic War to leaving to the Conscript Fathers the absolute direction of foreign affairs, which had in reality become too numerous and too important for determination in a popular assembly. This was their first abdication of power, and it is plain that it arose rather from the necessity of the case than from ambition on the part of the Senate. The stress of events led to this preponderance of the great council of Rome, as it was to lead, a century and a half later, to the preponderance of a single man. The ambition of the individual or of the few is not enough in human affairs to cause permanent results. These become justified only when social forces establish and maintain them. What declamations history will be spared, when it is recognized that politics are the science of the relative, not of the absolute, and that the best government is that which answers best to the present needs of the people living under it.

The consul Acilius Glabrio, who was sent to take command in Greece, was directed by the Senate before his departure to negotiate with Jupiter. In no other way can we characterize the scene related by Livy, which was, moreover, a repetition of what we have already seen:¹ "Following the dictation of the chief pontiff, the consul pronounced the following words: 'If the war decreed against King Antiochus ends according to the desire of the Senate

¹ Vol. i. pp. 676-678.



THERMOPYLAE (PRESENT STATE).

and the Roman people, then, O Jupiter! the Roman people will celebrate in thy honor great games during ten days, and gifts shall be offered upon all thy altars.'"¹ So the Romans made alliance with Jupiter, and the god seemed to have so well kept like agreements in earlier time, that the senators had reason to believe he would accept this conditional promise of honors in the event of victory.

On the Ides of May the army of Brundisium completed the passage of the Adriatic, and effected a junction with that of Apollonia, which had re-conquered many Thessalian cities. Acilius Glabrio was in command, a man of obscure origin but a vigorous soldier, who among his legionary tribunes could count two ex-consuls, Cato and Valerius Flaccus. These brave men were again willing to serve the state in the position assigned them.



COIN OF ACILIUS
GLABRIO.²

The consul completed the conquest of Thessaly, and advanced as far as Thermopylae, where Antiochus, who had just failed in Acarnania in an attempt against the feeblest of the Greek nations, now hoped to defend the pass with 10,000 men.³ But Cato surprised 2,000 Aetolians posted upon the Callidromus to defend the path by which Ephialtes had conducted the Persians of Xerxes, to turn Leonidas' position. At sight of the Roman cohorts coming down from Oeta, Antiochus, who had barred the defile before Acilius, fled across Locris to Elatea, and thence to Chalcis, where he arrived with 500 soldiers; and from Chalcis he made all haste to Ephesus. The battle at Thermopylae cost the Romans 200 men (July, 191). "Let Athens now boast her glory!" cried the Romans; "in Antiochus we have conquered another Xerxes!" During the engagement the Roman fleet had captured near Andros

¹ Livy, xxxvi. 2. It will be remembered that the public games had a religious character. In 178 an earthquake had been felt at Rome; certain individuals believed that they had seen the gods, being invited to a *lectisternium*, turn away their heads, and rats had eaten the olives served as a sacred repast. "To neutralize all these omens of ill, it was decided that the curule aediles should give a repetition of the Roman games." (Id., xl. 59.)

² M. ACILIUS GLABRIO COS. Heads, facing each other, of Caius Caesar and of Julia. Reverse of a bronze medal of Augustus, struck probably in Africa by some descendant of the conqueror of Antiochus. The work is very poor, and we give it merely to show by contrast the excellence of the Roman coins.

³ Livy, xxvi. 19, after Polybius.

a great number of transports laden with provisions. Antiochus had not even been able to secure his communications across the Aegean Sea.

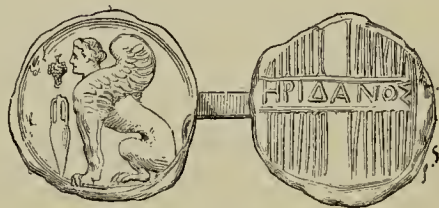
To stimulate the zeal of Philip, the Senate had conceded to him in advance all the cities which he should be able to capture. Whilst Acilius, directing his measures against the Aetolians, persisted obstinately in the siege of Heraclea and Naupactus, Philip advanced rapidly, and had already made himself master of four provinces. But Flamininus was keeping watch upon him. He hastened to Naupactus, warned the consul of his danger, and persuaded him to grant the Aetolians a truce which disarmed the King of Macedon. Some time before this he had also arrested an expedition of the Achaeans against Messene, and in allowing that city to enter the league, he had decreed that in all cases of disagreement it should refer the case to the Roman Senate or to his own tribunal, — an authority always ready to listen to complaints against the Achaeans. By this time, in fact, he had ceased to show any consideration whatever for the league. He had taken away the Island of Cephallenia from the Athamanians. “Like the tortoise in its shell, you will be invulnerable,” he told them, “so long as you do not extend yourselves outside of the Peloponnesus;” and with this he took possession of Cephallenia.¹

III. BATTLE OF MAGNESIA (190).—DEFEAT OF THE GALATIANS (189).

ON reaching Ephesus, Antiochus felt himself again secure; Hannibal was only surprised that the Romans were not there in pursuit. For the first time, yielding to the Carthaginian’s advice, the King went across to the Chersonesus, and there strengthened the fortifications of Sestus and Lysimachia. In Asia he purchased the alliance of the Galatians, sought that of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and gathered a considerable force, hoping to subjugate, before the Romans should arrive, the kingdom of Pergamus and the Greek free cities. But 1,100 Achaeans, under Philopoemen,

¹ Livy, xxxiv. 32.

resolutely defended Pergamus;¹ and Livius, by a victory between Chios and Ephesus over the Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, seized with one blow the supremacy in the Aegean Sea. And although the Rhodians were conquered at Samos, and Livius failed in his attempts upon Ephesus and Patara, the former retrieved their fortunes in a naval battle, when Hannibal himself was defeated; and the successor of Livius destroyed near Myonnesus the Syrian fleet, notwithstanding all that the Tyrian and Sidonian pilots could do to save it.

COIN OF EPHEBUS.²COIN OF CHIOS.³

In narrating these naval battles, Livy has given us some interesting details concerning the history of maritime wars among the ancients.

In the Aegean Sea the praetor Livius commanded eighty-one beaked and decked galleys, which were the ships of the line, and a certain number of vessels beaked also, but not decked, and hence lighter, and adapted for rapid evolutions, which then, as now, formed a special object of naval tactics. These consisted in three manœuvres: avoiding the enemy's shock, to break his oars, as we now seek to break the rudder or the screw in order to render the vessel unmanageable, to sink him with the galley's beak, or finally to board him. In the two epochs the means of action differ, but the art which employs them is the same. Then, as now, rapid vessels reconnoitred.⁵

BEAKED GALLEY.⁴

¹ The battle of Myonnesus took place, according to the ancient calendar, on the 23rd December, according to the reformed calendar, about the end of August, 190.

² A bee between E and Φ. On the reverse, ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΣ, half a stag lying under a palm-tree. Tetradrachm of Ephesus. The bee is a frequent emblem on Greek coins; it was the symbol of a well-ordered city, or of a colony which had swarmed from the mother-town.

³ A sphinx seated before a bunch of grapes and an amphora. On the reverse, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, in a decorated hollow square. Silver coin of Chios (13.65 gr.).

⁴ From an intaglio in the museum at Berlin. (Bernhard Graser, *Die Gemmen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*.)

⁵ The ancients had also something analogous to our fire-ships. Some months after the battle of Coryeus, the Rhodian fleet, surprised by Polyxenidas, was destroyed, with the

Livius was waiting at Delos for a favorable wind, to gain the Asiatic shore. The Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, warned by his scouting vessels, which were posted from point to point across the Aegean, begged the King to call a war council at Ephesus. He then represented that the Roman vessels, rudely constructed, heavily laden with provisions, and sailing among shoals that their pilots knew but poorly, were clumsy objects easily to be destroyed. He obtained permission to attack them, although the Roman fleet, having incorporated that of the King of Pergamus, counted 200 galleys, of which three fourths were decked vessels.

Upon the approach of the Syrians, Livius reefed his sails, cleared the decks, and lowered the masts. The battle began between two Carthaginian galleys placed in the van and three Syrian. Two of the latter attacked one of the Carthaginian vessels, which, becoming disabled, fell into their power. The crew were slain, and cast overboard. It was an evil omen for the Romans. Livius at once advanced with his flag-ship, giving orders to his rowers, when they came up with the enemy, to dip their oars deeply into the water, in order to steady the vessel as much as possible, and to his soldiers to throw out their grappling-irons. The two Syrian galleys were taken, and the action soon became general. The clumsy Roman vessels, well handled by Greek pilots, avoided the shocks of the Syrian galleys, but gave them in return. In a short time thirteen Syrian vessels were taken, ten were sunk, and the remainder made their escape. The action took place off Corycus, not far from Phocaea; and the Romans met with no other loss than that of the two Carthaginian galleys taken at the opening of the battle. The beak of the ancient galleys produced effects comparable, it is evident, to those of the modern ram. In another action, a small Rhodian vessel was able to sink a seven-banked Syrian galley,¹ as, at the battle of Lissa, a wooden ship sank an Italian ironclad by direct shock. To immortalize the memory of the sea-fight of Myonnesus, an inscription, cut in the wall of the temple of the sea-gods at Rome, related that the Romans in

exception of seven galleys, which made a way for themselves through the *mêlée* by means of the terror inspired by fire carried on long poles in front of the prow. (Livy, xxxvii. 11 and 30.)

¹ Livy, xxxvii. 24.

destroying, before the eyes of Antiochus, the Syrian fleet, "had ended a great strife, and triumphed over kings."

The Romans had good reason to keep alive the memory of these naval victories, for they had settled in advance the question between Rome and Antiochus. The victory at Myonnesus opened to the Romans the road into Asia: what general should lead thither the legions? The consuls of the year 190 were Laelius and Lucius Scipio. The latter was reckoned but a second-rate general. His colleague, who desired to undertake the responsibility, asked that the Senate, on which he counted, should abandon the ancient custom of assigning the provinces by lot, and should assign them by vote. The other consul agreed to this, and much debate was anticipated; when Scipio Africanus declared that if his brother were sent against Antiochus, he himself would serve him as second in command; and this promise secured nearly all suffrages in favor of Lucius Scipio.

The two brothers set off for Greece, with reinforcements to increase the army of Acilius, of which Lucius Scipio took the nominal command; 5,000 veterans of Zama volunteered to follow their distinguished general. The Scipios freed themselves from the Aetolians, granting them a truce of six months;¹ then traversed Thessaly and Macedon.

Philip, won over by the return of his son Demetrius and by the remission of the tribute,² had made ready supplies, had opened roads and bridged rivers. Lysimachia might have stopped the advance of the army, but Antiochus withdrew from it, and the Romans without conflict occupied the Thracian Chersonesus just at the time when the victory at Myonnesus was driving the Syrian fleets from the Aegean. The passage of the Hellespont, therefore, which should have been so sharply disputed, was made without opposition. The King, at last taking alarm, sought for peace, and tried to gain over Scipio by sending back his son, who had been made prisoner. The Roman made reply: "It is too late; the horses are bridled, and their riders are in the saddle. And yet, if the King will pay the expenses of the war, and will abandon Asia as far as the Taurus, peace may even now be

¹ Livy, xxxvi. 7.

² Polybius, xx. 10.

made.”¹ A battle could deprive him of nothing more, and Antiochus determined to risk one. Lucius made haste to fight while his brother was detained by illness at Elea. The engagement took place on the 5th of October, 190, near Magnesia (ad Sipylum) on the Hermus. Thirty thousand Romans² encountered 82,000 Asiatics, fifty-four elephants, chariots armed with scythes, a phalanx of 16,000 spears, camels ridden by Arab archers, cavalry, both man and horse clad in mail, and the like. But this army had everything save courage. It is said that 52,000 Syrians were killed or taken prisoners, while the consul lost but 350 men. The Galatians only fought with courage.³

There was nothing to do but negotiate: the conditions were severe.⁴ The Senate forbade Antiochus to make any war in Asia Minor; they deprived him of his elephants, giving them to Eumenes, and of his vessels, which they burned, as they had burned the fleets of Carthage and of Philip. They forbade him to levy any troops in Greece, that is, to have an army, and, as formerly Athens had forbidden Artaxerxes, to sail beyond the promontory Sarpedon; finally, driving him from Asia Minor, fixed the limit of his kingdom at the Taurus. A war indemnity was to be paid to Rome, of 15,000 talents (\$16,800,000); to Eumenes, 400 talents (\$446,400).⁵ It was further demanded, in order to dishonor the King, that he should give up Hannibal, Thoas, some of his best counsellors, and twenty hostages, to be changed every three years; among the latter was specified his second son. And yet Antiochus expressed his gratitude that the Senate had not asked more. For the destruction of Macedon and of Carthage, the legions were obliged to return to the attack a second and a third time. Syria fell at the first blow; and, as if the sword of Rome made incurable wounds, never more did she recover.

¹ He gave him, however, the equivocal advice not to fight so long as he (Scipio) was absent from the army. (Livy, xxxvii. 37.) Polybius makes no mention of this; but his Book xxx. is extremely mutilated.

² They had with them 5,000 volunteers, Macedonian, Thracian, Pergamean, and others.

³ Livy, xxxvii. 39, 40; xxxviii. 48; App., *Syriaca*, 31 *seq.*

⁴ This treaty was not signed until the proconsulate of Manlius, in the year 188. Livy, xxxviii. 38.

⁵ Antiochus was to pay 500 talents down, 2,500 after the Roman people had confirmed the peace, and the remainder in twelve years, at the rate of 1,000 talents a year. The treaty is given by Polybius, xxi. 14.

When Manlius Vulso came to receive the army from the hands of L. Scipio, he found the conditions of peace nearly determined and the war at an end (189). But his ambition and his cupidity were inflamed by that rich Asia where triumphs were so facile. Moreover, it appeared to be politic to exhibit the forces of Rome in those countries whence the King of Syria had just been driven out, and where his satraps and his allies were very ready to regard his defeat as their liberation from all control. The Galatians had furnished a contingent to Antiochus; and Manlius proposed to punish them for this. He had neither decree of the Senate, nor authorization from the people for this war, but he did without them; and in order to render the expedition more productive for himself, as well as more useful to the Republic, he avoided the direct road, choosing circuitous ways, that as large a number of nations as possible might feel the hand of Rome upon their heads. From Ephesus he made his way to the Valley of the Maeander, followed the river up towards the Taurus, and then marched along the slopes of the mountain as far as Termessus, — a stronghold closing the defile into Pamphylia. Having exhibited his standards on the frontier of this province, securing the respect of the inhabitants for the Roman name, he traversed Pisidia and Phrygia, and went as far as the banks of the Sangarius. Along the road he extorted money¹ from the cities, the provinces, and all the petty princes, who at that time, as they had long been, were independent in their inaccessible retreats, and recognized a master only as they paid tribute to him. As far as the Sangarius there were only the fatigues of the march to encounter; beyond that river the war began.



COIN OF TERMES-
MESSUS.²

The Gauls had been for ninety years in Asia. Their fiery courage and love of remote adventure were gone. For all that, and though their strength has been overstated, as was the ease in respect to all the adversaries of Rome at this epoch, — though,

¹ *Consul mercenarius . . . vagari eas cum belli terrore per nationes, quibus bellum indictum non sit, pacem pretio vendentes* (Livy). Aspendus, Sagalassus, Telmissus, were each required to pay fifty talents, and other cities in proportion. The tyrant of Cibyra offered twenty-five; Manlius required 500 at first, but finally contented himself with 100, with the addition of 15,000 bushels of corn.

² A thunderbolt behind a half horse galloping, and the first three letters of the name Termessus.

moreover, the rivalry of the Greeks and the low price of Cretan and Aetolian mercenaries had reduced the Gauls in the armies of Syria and Egypt, and the time had gone by when the Gauls might



COIN OF TERMESSUS.¹

dispose of the crowns of these two kingdoms, — they still remained the bravest people in the East; and the Asiatic races, trembling before them, saw with delight the Romans now undertake to free Asia from their preponderance. Throughout

Phrygia the people welcomed the advancing legions, and at Pessinus the priests of Cybele, speaking in the name of the goddess, promised them an easy journey and an assured victory.



COIN OF THE TROCMI.²

Two kings only, Ariarathus, of Cappadocia, son-in-law to Antiochus, and Murzes, of Paphlagonia, understood that the Gauls were the last defence of Asiatic independence, and came with 4,000 picked men to join the Galatian forces.³

The Galatians were entrenched upon Mounts Olympus and Magaba. These two camps were easily stormed by the consul, as the Gauls used no missiles; what remained of the nation sued for peace. Satisfied with having crushed their power and spread afar, by this expedition against a formidable people, the terror of the Roman name, Manlius imposed upon them neither tribute nor humiliation of any kind. It was a stroke of policy to attach to the Roman interest this nation, on bad terms with all the Asiatic peoples. The Galatians were required only to give back the lands



COIN OF ARIARATHUS IV.⁴

they had taken from allies of Rome, to engage not to go outside of their own boundaries, and to make an alliance with Eumenes.

Whether from flattery or with real rejoicing at being delivered from these pirates, all the cities of Asia offered golden wreaths to Manlius. A contribution of 300 talents levied on Ariarathus augmented the immense

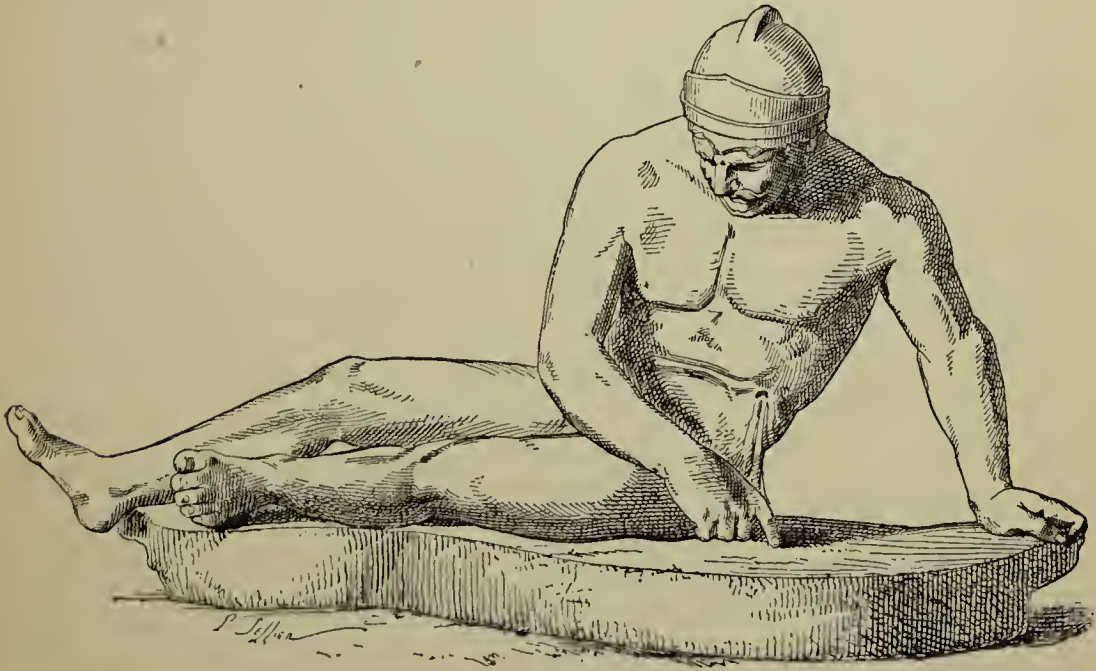
¹ Head of Jupiter; behind, a sceptre. On the reverse, the name of the city and a winged thunderbolt. Copper coin of Termessus.

² Gallic trumpet or *cornyx* and the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΟΝ ΤΡΟΚΜΟΝ (*the venerated or honored Trocmi*) and a monogram. Copper coin of the Trocmi.

³ Livy, xxxviii. 26.

⁴ Head of Ariarathus IV., from a coin.

spoils which Manlius brought home to Rome. But his army in gaining booty had lost its discipline. The general who upon his own private judgment made war or peace could not demand from his legions the obedience that he himself refused to the Senate.¹ In spite of the ten commissioners who had been associated with him, he returned into Pamphylia, endeavoring to allure Antiochus to a conference, in the design of seizing him and seeking a pretext to cross the Taurus, — the limit fatal to Rome, beyond which the Sibyl had foretold disaster to Roman arms. However, this

DYING GALATIAN.²

expedition had carried the Roman eagles among the peoples of Asia Minor, and had brought into alliance, or placed under the influence of the Senate, all the kingdoms as far as the Euphrates. Returning to Ephesus, Manlius, with the aid of the commissioners, determined the fortunes of the allies.

¹ *Disciplinam militarem . . . omni generae licentiae corrupuisse.* (Livy, xxxix. 6.) Earlier, the soldiers of Aemilius had pillaged Phoeaea, notwithstanding the treaty and the severe prohibitions of the praetor. (Livy, xxxvii. 32.)

² This fine statue is probably one of those to which Pausanias refers (i. 25, 7) when he says that Attalus of Pergamus presented to Athens many statues of giants, Amazons, Medes, and Gauls, which were placed upon the Acropolis. It is believed that some of these statues were carried to Rome, and three are now in Venice. One of these recalls the *Dying Gladiator*, which we have given in vol. i., p. 376. The *Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.* for 1870 describes them, pp. 292-323, and they are reproduced in the *Atlas* of the *Bulletin*, vol. ix., plates 18-21.

In the distribution of the spoils, Eumenes had the largest share,¹ the richest provinces of Asia Minor, and the possessions of Antiochus in Europe; Prusias, King of Bithynia, gave back to him



COIN OF CYME.²

the parts of Mysia which he had taken. The fortune of this King of Pergamus was indeed brilliant; from Thrace to Cilicia all now belonged to him. The Senate, however, spared Prusias and the King of Cappadocia, Ari-

arathus, but obliged the latter to pay 200 talents as a penalty for some succors furnished to Antiochus. Upon the Galatians easy terms were imposed, and Eumenes was refused the Greek



COIN OF COLOPHON.³

colonies, which alone were worth more than all these semi-barbarous provinces. Thus the new kingdom of Asia, formed of twenty different nations, without unity, without military strength, without frontiers, and surrounded by powerful

rivals, had none of the conditions requisite for a durable state. The alliance with Rome was only a disguised dependence, for already had begun "the custom of having kings for instruments of servitude." No one was deceived on this point, and in the



COIN OF CLAZOMENAE.⁴

open Senate, Eumenes being present, it was said: "The authority of Rome now extends to the Taurus."

The Rhodian fleets had been more useful than the vessels and the 3,000 auxiliaries of Eumenes; Rhodes obtained less, however, because she seemed to be already too powerful. She was forced to content herself

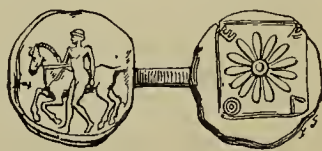
¹ Sulpicius had already sold Aegina to Attalus for thirty talents. (Polybius, xxiii. 8.)

² Woman's head. On the reverse, ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ, the city name, and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate. Horse *passant*, and a vase peculiar to Cyme. The whole surrounded with a wreath of laurel. Tetradrachm of Cyme.

³ ΚΟΑ, the first letters of the city's name, behind the laurelled head of Apollo, whose worship was very general along this Asiatic coast. On the reverse, in a hollow square, a lyre, with its key. Silver coin of Colophon.

⁴ Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΚΛΑ, first letters of the city's name, and ΑΕΥΚΑΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate, followed by a monogram, the whole surrounding a bird. Gold coin of Clazomenae.

with some territory in Caria and Lycia, where many of the cities remained free. Along the coast, in the Troad, Aeolis, and Ionia, Cyme, Colophon, and nearly all the original Greek colonies obtained immunity, with new lands and honors. Miletus obtained the Sacred Field; Clazomenae, the Island Drymusa, which commands the Gulf of Smyrna; Troy, as cradle of the Roman race, was aggrandized by the territory of two adjacent cities; Dardanus by the same title received her freedom. Chios, which during the war had served the Romans as a depot for their supplies from Italy, Erythrae and Smyrna, which had resisted both threats and promises from Antiochus, were held by the Senate in high honor. Phocaea, notwithstanding her defection, recovered her territory and received her early laws again; Adramyttium, Alexandria Troas, Lampsacus, Elaeus, Magnesia ad Sipylum, and others, were enfranchised. But Ephesus, which had been the centre of the military operations of Antiochus, and Sardis, the usual rendezvous of his armies, remained under the King of Pergamus. Finally, the Pamphylians, for whom Eumenes and Antiochus disputed, obtained their liberty and title of allies of Rome. In the case of the Galatians, Rome deprived them neither of their liberty nor their territory, but she had destroyed their military strength, the prestige of their power, and now forbade them to go outside their frontiers. Further east the two satraps of Armenia who had governed that province under Antiochus were authorized to take the title of king (188).

COIN OF ERYTHRAE.¹COIN OF ALEXANDRIA TROAS.²

¹ Horse and dismounted rider. On the reverse, a rosette or opened flower in a square, at whose four corners are the letters E, P, Y, and Θ. Silver coin.

² On the obverse, Apollo laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ, name of the inhabitants of the city; ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ, a magistrate's name; ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΣ ΣΜΙΘΕΩΣ, name of the god with one of his numerous surnames; finally the date ΣΑΤ (233). Apollo Smintheus, holding a bow and arrow. Behind the god, a monogram. Tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas. The era to which the date belongs is that which commenced in the year when Lysimachus changed the name Antigonia for Alexandria, and this year was 454 A. U. C., equivalent to 300 B. C. The coin was therefore struck in the year 67 B. C. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

While Manlius was concluding the Asiatic war, his colleague, Fulvius, attacked Ambracia, without formal declaration of war, in order to strike a final blow at the Aetolian league. In fact, the Aetolians had, since the battle of Thermopylae, been making overtures for peace. The Senate, in ambiguous language, required that they should surrender unconditionally. The Aetolian magistrates accepted the terms; but when the consul Acilius explained that these words meant that those who had fomented the war should be given up to Rome, they cried out against it: this was contrary, they said, to the custom of the Greeks. Upon this Acilius exclaimed: "It well becomes you, insignificant Greeks, to talk to me about your customs, and to instruct me in what it is proper for me to do, after you have unconditionally surrendered to my faith. Do you know that it is in my power to load you with chains?" But upon the entreaty of Valerius Flaccus, the legate, and some of the tribunes, the consul allowed himself to be appeased (191).

The affair, however, was not finally settled either that year or the next. Not to waste his consulate in the siege of a few unimportant towns, L. Scipio granted to the Aetolians a truce of six months, at the end of which period the Senate left them still further time, that they might recapture the places Philip had taken. When they had finally driven him back into Macedon, the King of Syria having been in the mean time overthrown, Fulvius arrived with two legions, and obtained possession of Ambracia after a heroic resistance on the part of the town. This city, once the capital of Pyrrhus, was rich in works of art of all kinds. Fulvius required these to be given up to him. Among the spoil were statues of the Muses; these he carried off; and, like a true Roman, in the temple which he built for them, he gave the nine goddesses for a master, not the god of harmony, but the god of strength, Hercules Musagetes. It was in truth as spoils of war that the arts of Greece came to Rome.



HERCULES
MUSAGETES.¹

The Aetolians, left to themselves, obtained peace at the cost of 500 talents, and acknowledged "the sovereignty and

¹ Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,772 of the Catalogue.

majesty of the Roman people.”¹ They must not admit through their territory any army marching against the Romans, their allies or their friends (*socios et amicos*); they must hold for enemies the enemies of the Roman people, and take arms against them; they must give up fugitives, renegade slaves, and escaped prisoners; they must give forty hostages, not under twelve years of age and not over forty, to be chosen by the consul, and also their strategus, the commander of their cavalry, and their public scribe.² This little nation had at least ennobled its defeat by its courage, braving for three years the power of Rome. The cities which had formerly made part of the league were separated from it that they might be restored to what the Senate called their liberty; but Cephallenia received a Roman garrison. This island, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth,³ and looking across to Elis, twenty-three miles away, was to become one of the stations of the Roman fleets sailing from Brundisium to Greece. By occupying Coreyra, Zante, and Cephallenia, three excellent harbors and easy of defence, the Senate was master of the Adriatic. Their choice was a good one; the English made the same selection when they wished that nothing should pass through this sea without their leave.

During the expeditions of the two consuls, the commandant of the fleet, without decree of the Senate, threatened a descent upon the Island of Crete, unless the inhabitants should set free whatever Roman prisoners had been brought or sold thither; and no less than 4,000 were given up to him. Fulvius also had directed active search to be made for all such captives. This was a rule of Roman policy, a condition in all treaties; and this solicitude, which did honor to the generals, was calculated to secure to them the confidence and devotion of their soldiers.

Manlius, meanwhile, was returning from Asia with his legions, hardly sufficient in number to furnish safe escort for his booty. Lying in ambush along the road, the Thracians deprived him of

¹ *Imperium majestatemque populi Romani*. (Livy, xxxviii. 11.) Aetolia was so rich a country, that Polybius (xxi. 3) speaks of an Aetolian who was possessor of 200 talents. He says also that they made a condition of the treaty that they should be allowed to pay in gold rather than in silver; to this the Romans agreed, on the condition that each piece of gold should represent ten of silver, — thus telling us the relative value of the two metals at that epoch.

² Livy, xxxviii. 11.

³ [Zacynthus (Zante) really holds this position, and, though smaller, is strategically the more important island. — *Ed.*]

half of his baggage, and twice put the army in peril. But Philip was in no condition to take advantage of this opportunity. He once more opened Macedon to the Romans, and Manlius re-crossed the Adriatic, leaving not a single legionary in Greece or in Asia. The Senate kept its promise everywhere upon both continents and all islands; the Greeks were free, and after so many conquests, Rome retained not an inch of territory. The comedy, commenced with so much success by Flamininus at the Isthmian games, had been performed. But in withdrawing after having crushed out every spark of energy in Macedon, the Aetolians, Syria and the Galatians, the legions left behind them in every city and state a party devoted to Rome, ready to serve her as police in Greece and Asia. And over against this crowd of little princes and little states rises the colossal power of Rome, with its strong military and political organization, its able Senate, its brave legions.¹

¹ [On the policy of the Romans towards the Greek world, and its successive changes, see the instructive remarks of Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenland unter den Römern*, i. pp. 91, *seq.* 131, *seq.* He shows that there were two parties in the Senate,—the advanced and enlightened Liberals, consisting of the Scipionic circle, represented in Greece by Flamininus, and the old party, whom we may call Conservatives. The former, from a genuine love of Greek culture, desired to keep up as much of Greek political liberty as was consistent with Roman interests, and strove to set up such federations in republics through Greece as a make-weight against the interests of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. But this policy failed, partly through the prevalence of the more thorough, and even brutal, theory of making subject provinces beyond Italy, and plundering them for the good of Rome. This was the theory carried out by Mummius, himself an amiable and worthy man, but the agent of a terrible policy. — *Ed.*]

² Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,863 of the Catalogue.



HORSEMAN WITH MACEDONIAN HAT.²

CHAPTER XXIX.

SECOND CONQUEST OF SPAIN; SUBMISSION OF CISALPINE GAUL.

I. OPERATIONS IN SPAIN (197-178).¹

DURING the period occupied by these easy and brilliant expeditions, other legions were carrying on in the extreme west, and also in Italy, a murderous struggle against nations whose courage was sustained by the hope of a better life, promised to heroes falling by the sword of the enemy. After Zama, the Senate had believed themselves masters of Spain; the revolt of Mandonius and Indibilis, those fickle allies of the Scipios,² and the insurrection of the Sedetani, appeared to be the last effort of Iberian independence. But when, in 197, the arrival of two praetors and an attempt to organize Spain into Roman provinces had rendered it evident that the Senate proposed to retain what they had conquered, the people of the country, who had aided Rome only for the sake of freeing themselves from the Carthaginians, made reply by a general insurrection against the foreigner. The praetor, Sempronius Tuditanus, was killed, and this outbreak became the signal of a war destined to last for a century.³

The Lusitanians, who had been victorious over the great Hamilcar, and whom Hannibal had not ventured to attack, the Vaccaei, the Vettones, and especially the Celtiberians, played the first part in this heroic struggle. Established in the central mountains of the peninsula, upon the high plateau whence the Guadiana,

¹ See map of Spain, vol. ii. p. 50.

² They had revolted after the departure of Scipio, and had been conquered in a battle where Indibilis was killed. Upon this they surrendered their arms, gave hostages, eorn for six months, clothing for the army, and a double tribute for the treasury; at last they surrendered Mandonius and the other chiefs, and the Romans put the leaders to death. (Livy, xxix. 1-3.)

³ Livy, xxxiii. 25.

the Tagus, and the Douro come down through wild defiles, the Celtiberians were able to cut the Roman communications, while themselves having easy access to the valleys and being able constantly to lend help to the people of the plain. As they had no great cities by means of which the country could be held and overawed, their villages and countless strongholds scattered the war, and made it endless; the taking of each place gaining for the Romans nothing but arid rocks. In the east, on the contrary, and in the south, all along the Mediterranean, there were rich cities, — Emporiae, Tarragona, Carthagera, Malaga, and Gades, whose submission brought with it in each case that of a large extent of country; or there were tribes lacking in courage, like the Tudetani, or scarcely true Spaniards by race, and enervated by long commerce with Tyre and Carthage, like the inhabitants of Baetica.

Sober and active, patient and crafty as the mountaineer and the hunter, at the same time brave to rashness, the Spaniards, even at this early period, carried on in their mountains that guerilla warfare which triumphed over Napoleon and the best soldiers the world has ever seen. When they made a close attack, they formed a wedge, and this order of battle was irresistible. They used a heavy two-edged sword, which the legionaries adopted, — a sword which made such wounds that Philip's Macedonians were terrified at them.¹ Generally they fought on foot: they, however, possessed horses as swift as those of the Parthians, says Strabo, trained to bend their knees, and clamber rapidly up the hills. If they were defeated, but few were taken prisoners, and still fewer could be retained; for the poison they always had with them set them free quickly from servitude, or else, if sent by sea to Italy or Sicily, they made a hole in the vessel's hull, and sank her. The women fought along with their husbands, and after a defeat cut their children's throats, and slew themselves;² the "devoted one" would not survive his friend or his leader, and the old who could not fight were relieved of a useless

¹ *Gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora, brachiis cum humero abscisis . . . patentiaque viscera . . . pavidi cernebant. Ipsum quoque regem terror cepit.* (Livy, xxxi. 34.)

² App., *Iberica* 74 (72); Strabo, iii. p. 154, *seq.*



GORGE OF THE TAGUS.

life. Severe to their captives as to themselves, the Lusitanians cut off the right hand of the prisoner and offered it to the gods. "They delighted in sacrifices," says Strabo, "and the victims they offered were their prisoners of war." Here were enemies more formidable than the countless phalanxes of Antiochus. Fortunately for Rome, the Spaniards were even more divided among themselves than the Italians and Greeks, and they were never capable of uniting in any great enterprise or any joint resistance. "Had it not been for this," says Strabo, "they would have been invincible."

A praetor avenged Sempronius. But the war seemed important enough to deserve a consular army. Cato was in command. Many contractors had come from Rome to supply the army. "The war shall support the war," Cato said, and sent them back. The Romans had been driven back as far as the Massiliote colony of Emporiae, — a singular city, composed of two distinct towns separated by a solid wall, one side Spanish, the other Greek, — the latter always jealous of its neighbor.¹ A great army was in the neighborhood; Cato set himself free by a skilfully prepared victory (195); then, having bought the assistance of the Celtiberians at a price of 200 talents, which the conquered were obliged to pay, he caused 400 cities and villages between the Ebro and the Pyrenees to be dismantled in a single day,² and he also levied a considerable tax upon the gold and silver mining of the province.

After the time of Cato, and during the struggle with Antiochus, the war languished. But the Celtiberians, feeling themselves menaced by the consolidation of the Roman power in the Valley of the Ebro, united with the Lusitanians, the Vaccaeï, and the Carpetani; it cost them 35,000 men, slain in the great battle near Toledo (185). The Romans spent many years in blockading their mountains, the centre of resistance, and victories gained in the north and south finally opened to them an entrance. When at last the Vaccaeï and the Lusitanians, worn out with the strife, had laid down their arms, Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the

¹ [Such cases are not rare when two races occupy a site: Pekin is an instance, and so was Kilkenny in former days. — *Ed.*]

² Livy, xxxiv. 8-22; Polybius, xix. In quoting this passage Plutarch writes *Baetis* instead of *Iberus*, which is the name in Livy (xxxiv. 17), and is easier to be understood.

Gracchi, penetrated to the very heart of Celtiberia and made himself master of 300 villages.¹

To secure the good-will of these tribes he made easy terms with them: he declared them allies of Rome, and placed them under her protectorate upon condition merely that in time of war they should furnish her with men and money.² Knowing that civilization alone could render the peace durable, he made it his endeavor to found cities and collect therein great numbers of Celtiberians, giving them wise laws. The good faith and gentleness of Gracchus became renowned in the peninsula; the treaties which he concluded were afterward appealed to against the cruelty and avarice of his successors (178).³

II. CONQUEST OF CISALPINE GAUL; ITALY CLOSED AGAINST THE BARBARIANS (200 — 163).

SPAIN appeared to be conquered for the second time; the Cisalpine really was so.⁴ The Carthaginian, Hamilcar, who had remained there, notwithstanding Zama, with the secret connivance of Hannibal, threw 40,000 Gauls and Ligurians upon Placentia and Cremona, the two great Roman colonies on the banks of the Po (200). A few years earlier this diversion would have been helpful to Carthage; it was now only an annoyance to Rome, though for a moment it caused an alarm by the recollection of the Gallic wars.

Placentia was taken and burned; but the resistance of Cremona gave the Romans time to come up, and 35,000 Gauls, if we may believe Livy, were slain by Furius, the praetor, who received a triumph at Rome in consequence. This sanguinary lesson was wasted. Hamilcar, who made his escape from the battle-field, continued his intrigues, and all the barbarians in the Valley of the Po, even the Cenomani, rose in revolt. The Boii especially showed a heroic determination. The Senate was obliged to send

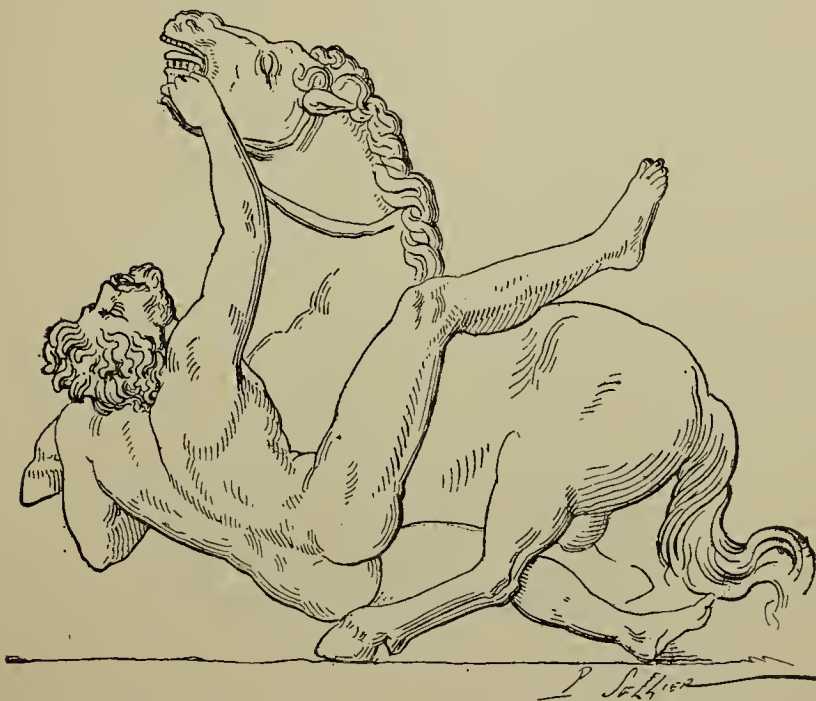
¹ Livy, xli. 4, on the authority of Polybius.

² Strabo, iii. 4, 13.

³ App., *Iber.* 43-44; Livy, xl. 45-50. He gave the name of Gracchuris to the city of Illurcis. (xli.)

⁴ These wars are related in Livy, from xxxi. 2, to xl. 53.

against these tribes three armies at once and Scipio Africanus. In the year 193 the Senate had recourse to the formula of great public dangers: it was declared that a *tumultus* existed. Repeated defeats at last forced the Boii to treat (192), with the condition of relinquishing half their territory.¹ But when it became time to fulfil the treaty, they could not submit to live under the hated rule of Rome, and what remained of the nation sought on the other side



WOUNDED GAUL FALLING FROM HIS HORSE.²

of the Alps, on the banks of the Danube, a land sheltered from Roman ambition.³ During ten years they had successfully resisted fifteen consuls, had killed two praetors and more legionaries than all the wars in Greece and Asia had cost in three quarters of a century.

Placentia and Cremona were promptly re-peopled; colonists were sent to Bologna and Parma, and M. Aemilius Lepidus⁴ completed the military road from Ariminum to Placentia.

¹ Livy, xxxvi. 39.

² Bas-relief in the Capitol, published in the *Mon. inél.* of the *Inst. archéol.* of Rome; cf. the whole sarcophagus on p. 192.

³ Strabo, v. 212. They amalgamated with the Taurisei in Noricum.

⁴ This Lepidus, who was twice consul, pontiff, and censor, died in 152. At the age of fifteen he had killed an enemy and saved the life of a citizen. This is indicated by the legend on his coin: *ANnis XV. PRaetextatus Hostem Occidit Civem Servavit.* On p. 77 the reader has seen his coin as tutor to the King of Egypt, Ptolemy Eupator.



COIN OF
LEPIDUS.¹

The Insubres (Milan) had submitted; the Cenomani (Verona and Mantua) had often obeyed the Roman power; the Veneti silently accepted it: only the Ligurians still held out. Too feeble to cause fear, they were, however, brave enough to test the valor of the legions. In 189 they killed a praetor; later they defeated a consul; and even Paulus Aemilius himself was in danger from them. It became necessary to renew the devasta-



GALLIC PRISONER.²

tions of the Samnite War,³ to destroy the vineyards, to burn the harvests, to break up the villages;⁴ and, finally, to transport 47,000 Ligurians into the deserted country of Samnium, while Roman colonists were established at Pisa, Lucca, and Modena, to guard the Ligurian Apennines. In spite of all efforts of policy and of arms, these poor mountaineers, abandoned by the Cisalpines, struggled twenty years longer (until 163) against the mistress of the world. A fortress was built at Luna to keep watch over them, and the Aurelian road was built along the coast, to bring the legions to the entrance of the mountains.

Long before this epoch the Senate had carried to the Alps

¹ Reverse of a coin of the Aemilian gens; see preceding note.

² From a sarcophagus of the *Vigna Ammendola* (*Atlas de l'Inst. arch. of Rome*, vol. i.).

³ Livy, xxix. 32; xl. 38, 41.

⁴ Livy, xl. 53; xli. 18.

the frontiers of the Republic, declaring Italy closed against the barbarians; and some bands of Gauls, coming to seek homes in the Valley of the Po, had been haughtily ordered to return in all haste across the mountains.¹

The founding of Aquileia, to which the Aemilian road led (181), and a new conquest of Istria (177), served to defend on the east the approach to the Cisalpine.²

The King of the Istrians, Epulo, had withdrawn into his strongest city, Nesactium, with the bravest of his army. When they saw that the Romans had diverted the course of a river which supplied the city with water, they led their wives and children to the ramparts and slew them there, then killed themselves, their chief setting the example of this fierce courage. If they had fallen living into the enemy's hands, those who survived the first massacre would have been sold into slavery. They therefore took the shortest way to escape the insupportable miseries to which ancient war condemned the vanquished.

About this time (181) the people of Corsica and Sardinia rose in insurrection. After vain efforts the Corsicans resigned themselves to a tribute of 10,000 pounds of wax.⁴ In the other island, Gracchus, the pacificator of Spain, killed 27,000 Sardinians, and sold into slavery so great a number, that, to designate a cheap article, they said at Rome, "Sardinians to sell" (175).



GALLIC PRISONERS AND TROPHY.³

¹ Livy, xxxiv. 54, 55; xl. 53. In 118 Marcius Rex conquered the Euganei, who refused to survive their defeat; and Seaurus, the Carni, 115.

² Strabo, v. 214; Livy, xli. 11.

³ From Caristie's *Arc et théâtre d'Orange*.

⁴ We find them again in revolt in 163.

We pass rapidly over these wars, notwithstanding the heroism shown by the attacked nations; for history, classing events according to their importance, chooses between facts apparently similar, leaving some, and placing others in strong light. What place in the memory of the world is held by Morgarten and Morat compared with Marathon and Salamis? Of these victories, the former only saved the liberties of a small nation; the others saved the world's future. Civilization is interested in the results of the Roman wars in Greece and in Asia; while those in Spain and Cisalpine Gaul concerned only the savage independence of a few unknown and useless tribes.¹

When we sum up the achievements of the legions in the West during these twenty years it appears that the Senate was striving to complete the work begun in the interval between the two Punic wars, — to conquer the Cisalpines; to secure the firm possession of the islands of the western Mediterranean; and, for fear of a new peril from beyond the Pyrenees, to occupy Spain.

These wars contrast in the vigor of their prosecution with those waged on the other coast of the Asiatic and the Aegean Sea, in the design of keeping open the gates of the East. The Senate, knowing well, as the Greeks said to Flamininus, how to play at once both fox and lion, had hitherto only cared to dazzle and fascinate the people of that other world. But for them also the time of conciliatory measures was soon to end, and that of servitude to begin.

¹ Livy himself says: *Lacessebant magis quam exercebant Romana arma Ligures et Galli*; and Polybius: "There was never war more despicable."

² Rome holding a globe, upon which is the statue of Victory Stephanophoros, or crown-bearer. Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, 61 millimetres by 43, No. 2,071 of the Catalogue.



ROME PERSONIFIED.²

CHAPTER XXX.

THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171-168).

I. LAST YEARS OF PHILIP. — DEATH OF PHILOPOEMEN AND OF HANNIBAL.

“ALREADY the Roman people had carried throughout the world their victorious arms. Amidst so much good fortune they had not forgotten moderation, and ruled the nations less by force and intimidation than by the greatness of their renown and the wisdom of their counsels. Humane toward vanquished kings and peoples, liberal with their allies, they asked for themselves only glory and victory. They left to kings their majesty, to nations their laws and their independence.”

With these words Livy commences the story of the war against Perseus. The facts had corresponded hitherto, and were still to correspond, to this magnificent eulogy.

The defeat of Antiochus and the ruin of the Aetolians had appeased the humiliated pride of Philip, but had taken from him the only auxiliaries who might have been able to save him. He now remained alone against Rome; and by the outrages which the Senate heaped upon him, he could see that his ruin was determined. As the price of his alliance in the war with Antiochus, the Senate had allowed him to retain whatever conquests he might make. Scarcely had the victory at Thermopylae been gained, when his advance was arrested. He was about to take Lamia in Thessaly; Acilius ordered him to abandon the siege. He had conquered Athamania; the Aetolians were allowed time to expel him from the country. Too carefully watched in Greece, he turned upon Thrace, and there quietly made some conquests of importance. The seaports Aenos and Maroneia received garrisons. But on

this side¹ Eumenes kept watch upon him, and denounced him at Rome. As soon as it was known that the complaints of exiles from these two cities were well received, a crowd of Thessalians,



COIN OF MARONEIA.³



T. Q. FLAMININUS.⁶

Magnetî, Athamani, and others rushed to the banks of the Tiber,² and the Senate sent three commissioners, who, in order to show the Greeks the humiliation and weakness of this King before whom they had so long trembled,

obliged Philip to appear like an ordinary culprit before their

tribunal.⁴ He had taken from them, the Thessalians complained, 500 young men of the noblest families, he had ruined the port of Thebes in Phthiotis for the advantage of Demetrias, and had waylaid all the deputies whom they had sent to Flamininus. "Like slaves suddenly let free," the King rejoined, "these men knew not how to use their liberty, save in insulting their master; besides," he added, haughtily, "the last sun has not yet set!"⁵

Of course the commissioners decided against him.

Livy and Polybius accuse him of cruelty, — which was, however, habitual to all these kings, — and the former relates in proof of this a story showing how merciless

¹ The Roman commissioner, Fabius Labeo, had made it a rule in determining the boundary between Macedon and Thrace, after the battle of Cynosephalæ, to follow the old royal road, which never came near the sea. (Livy, xxxix. 27.)

² Polybius, xxxiv. 4. There were so many nations represented, that it took three days to hear the complaints.

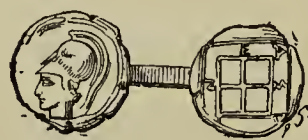
³ A free horse and a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants (ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΕΩΝ) surrounding a vine-tree in a hollow square.

⁴ *Tanquam reus.* (Livy, xxxix. 25.)

⁵ *Nondum omnium dierum solem occidisce.* (Livy, xxxix. 26.)

⁶ Marble bust in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,293 of the Catalogue. It resembles the coin represented on p. 99; cf. *Revue numismatique*, vol. i. p. 59, pl. 4, No. 2, 1852; see p. 200, a paper by M. François Lenormant on this subject. A bronze statue had been erected to Flamininus at Rome, opposite the Circus. (Plut., *Flam.* 1.) It is possible, therefore, that the bust and the coin really show us the features of the conqueror of Macedon.

people were in those times.¹ Philip had put to death an eminent Thessalian and his two sons-in-law. The widows had each an infant son; one of them refused to re-marry; the other married Poris, the most influential citizen of Aeneia in Chalcidice, and died after having borne him several children. Her sister, Theoxena, in order to watch over her nephews, united her destiny to that of Poris, and became a real mother to all his children. An order from Philip was presently issued prescribing that the sons of the persons whom he had put to death should be sent to him. Death or infamy awaited them. Theoxena declared that she would kill them sooner than give them up, and Poris attempted to make his escape. He embarked by night with his family to go to Athens; but the wind was contrary. When day dawned they were still in sight of the harbor, and a vessel was sent in pursuit of them. Theoxena, foreseeing this possibility, had provided herself with weapons and with poison. "Death," she said, "is our sole refuge: here are two ways to reach it." Some preferred poison, others the sword; she threw them dying into the sea, and with her husband leaped after them.³

COIN OF AENEIA.²

Accustomed though men were to like misfortunes, this tragic end of an entire family excited public horror; and the pious historian asserts that from that day the gods marked Philip for destruction. Rome was ready to become the minister of divine vengeance.

ACES, KING OF THRACE.⁴

The intervention of the gods was not, however, necessary: policy sufficed; and the King put himself in the wrong towards Rome by imprudent measures which the Senate regarded as provocations. It was

¹ Polybius, xxiv. 6. Livy, as might be expected, is very prolix on the subject of the cruelty and debauchery of Philip.

² Helmeted head, thought to be that of Aeneas. On the reverse, ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ, around a hollow square. Tetradrachm of Aeneia.

³ Livy, xl. 4.

⁴ Horned head of Alexander, in memory of the god Ammon, whose son the Macedonian conqueror declared himself to be. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΚΟΥ (Aces, king). Minerva Nicephoros seated; under her feet a trident. Gold stater of the unknown king, Aces; unique in the *Cabinet de France*.

wise to open mines, to establish new taxes, to favor commerce ; it was not so, to endeavor to increase the population of his kingdom by Asiatic measures, which excited against him bitter animosity without bringing him much advantage. The maritime towns were not very friendly towards him, and he removed their inhabitants into Paeonia, replacing them with barbarians. Under pretext of bringing aid to the Byzantines, he made an incursion into the interior of Thrace, defeated many petty kings, and brought back a numerous colony, with which he hoped



COIN OF PHILIP-
POPOLIS.¹



ALTAR OF JUPITER.²

to recruit his army. Prusias was at war with the King of Pergamus, and Philip sent auxiliaries to the former. Remembering the plans of Hannibal, he sent secret emissaries to the barbarians of the Danube to league them with himself for an attack upon Italy. Their chief promised his daughter in marriage to the king's son. For the purpose of strengthening these negotiations, and confirming his influence in Thrace, Philip founded the city of Philipopolis on the banks of the Hebrus, not far from Mount Haemus. It was said that

from the top of this mountain the view embraced the Euxine Sea, the

¹ The legend reads, ΗΓΕΜΟΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ Μάρκου-ΠΟΝΤίου ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, which means, "Under the hegemony of M. Pontius Sabinus at Philipopolis." The nymph Rhodope, mother of the River Hebrus, is represented seated upon a rock. Reverse of a copper coin of the city built by Philip V. on a hillside near the river.

² Museum of the Louvre. Fröhner, No. 40.

Adriatic, the Danube, and the Alps. Philip determined to ascend this mountain, in order hence to discern the shortest road into Italy; for, despairing of Greece, which he knew too well, he dreamed of repeating the expedition of Hannibal. He employed three days in reaching the summit, which was wrapped in clouds, and built there two altars, one to Jupiter and one to the Sun; but he saw nothing save the fertile plains of Maesia and Thrace.¹ When he came down, the news of this strange expedition, this fruitless menace, was already on the way to Rome. Some time before this, Philip, in order to lull the vigilance of the Senate, had sent to Rome his son, Demetrius, whom a long residence in Rome as a hostage, and also prudent regard for his own interests, had rendered entirely devoted to the Roman cause. With their murderous ingenuity, the Senate, sowing discord and hatred in the King's house, made reply that they would pardon the father through consideration for the son. Demetrius soon paid with his life for this perfidious expression of respect.²

THE SUN PERSONIFIED.³

The Senate, in their turn, commenced preparations, using peace to enervate the already feeble nations of Hellas, and working uninterruptedly, but quietly, for the dissolution of leagues and the reducing of states. Their commissioners were never absent from Greece,⁴ Flaminius ever at their head, his influence aggrandized by the dignity of censor, which he

¹ Livy, xl. 22.

² Polybius, xxiv. 1 and 5. Demetrius was given to understand that the Romans would soon place him on the throne of Macedon.

³ Bust in the Louvre. "The young god, with a Phrygian cap, his head raised towards heaven, his eyebrows contracted, his lips parted, the hair thrown back from his forehead." (Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée National du Louvre*, vol. i. p. 384.)

⁴ They went as far as Crete. (Polybius, xxiii. 9.)

had lately enjoyed. Two men in the East hampered the policy of the Senate, — Philopoemen in Greece, Hannibal in Asia. Flamininus accepted the shameful task of freeing them from these two old men. Philopoemen was now seventy years of age. He did not deceive himself in respect to his country's future; he saw her liberty perishing without even having for its tomb a field of battle. "Are you, then, so eager," said the old general, with sad and bitter resignation, to one of the most zealous partisans of Rome, "are you, then, so eager, Aristæus, to see the last day of Greece?" However, he struggled valiantly. Diophanes having imprudently united the troops of the league with those of Flamininus for the purpose of attacking Sparta, Philopoemen threw himself into the city and defended it against them.¹ On another occasion, when the Spartans attempted to seize a seaport [Gythium] for the purpose of opening a secret communication with Rome, he constrained them to remain in the alliance, and caused their walls to be pulled down, to take from them the desire and the means of defection. Rome required that the Achæans should compel Sparta to receive again her banished citizens; Philopoemen opposed this, not through vindictiveness against the banished, but that they should not come under this obligation to the Romans.

The union of the Peloponnesus into a single state made progress, and the reputation of the league and of its general spread far and wide. Seleucus, Eumenes, and Ptolemy sent them rich gifts by ambassadors.² The Senate made haste to humble the pride of this confederation, which assumed to manage its affairs in its



COIN OF
MEGAL-
OPOLIS.⁴

own way without allowing the Romans to interfere in them.³ Messages were sent to permit Sparta to separate from the league, but Philopoemen refused the envoys an assembly for this business. They returned with orders from Rome that they should be heard at all times, and they presented themselves in the Assembly, accompanied by the exiles from Sparta, whom the day before the

¹ He refused the title of king at Sparta. (Polybius, xx. 14.)

² Polybius, xxiii. 6.

³ Polybius, xxiv. 10.

⁴ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ. Pan seated on a rock, holding the *pedum* (see vol. i. p. 262). In the field, an eagle. Reverse of a copper coin (Aeginetan triobol) of Megalopolis, the obverse bearing a head of Jupiter.

Achaean had condemned to death. When Flaminius went to demand of Prusias the head of Hannibal, he passed through Messene. Scarcely had he left the city when a sedition broke out against the Achaeans, and at the same time a decree of the



FUNERAL SCENE.¹

Senate was issued giving permission to Corinth, Argos, and Sparta to separate themselves from the league. Philopoemen at this time

¹ *Cantharus* in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,331 of the Catalogue. This one-handled *cantharus* represents a funeral scene. The body of the dead wrapped in a shroud, with the bearded head alone visible, is extended on a car drawn by two mules. Below are seated two women, who appear to be plucking out their hair. The head of a third almost touches that of the corpse. Two others, with signs of grief, walk beside the car. Behind are seen a man, his hand raised to his hair in sign of affliction, a flute-player, and five *hoplites* (warriors), armed and lowering their spears in token of mourning; a funereal column completes the scene.

was at Megalopolis. Notwithstanding his age and a recent illness, he went thirty miles in a day to stifle the insurrection; but in an action with the Messenians he fell from his horse, was taken, and condemned to drink hemlock (183). Lycortas, his friend, avenged his death upon the Messenians, and all Greece united to do him funeral honors; Polybius carried the urn containing his ashes. "As they say a mother loves her latest children most, Greece, having brought forth Philopoemen as one born out of due time, loved him with singular affection, and called him the last of her children."¹

At the hand of Rome Hannibal also perished. Abandoned by Antiochus after Magnesia, he withdrew into Crete, and thence into Armenia, whence Prusias called him, to have the aid of his talents against Eumenes. Hannibal defeated the King of Pergamus; but the echo of his victories reached Rome, and he soon saw Flaminius arrive at the court of Prusias. He had caused seven secret ways of exit to be prepared in his house, but when he sought to escape they were all guarded. "Let us relieve the Romans from their terrors!" he said, and took poison, which he had always with him (183).² Thus perished the man whom Montesquieu has called "the colossus of antiquity."

These two old men being removed, it appeared that Rome would find henceforth only impotent hatreds. In Syria, Antiochus had perished, stoned to death by his own people, whose temples he had pillaged to pay his debt to the Senate (187); and Seleucus, his successor, occupied the eleven years of his reign in gathering the money for the tribute. At one time he proposed to draw the sword in defence of Pharnaces, King of Pontus, against Eumenes and Ariarathus of Cappadocia; but Rome commanded peace to the four kings. Egypt, under the tyranny of Epiphanes and during the minority of Philometor, grew weaker every day.



PHARNACES I.³

¹ Rollin, after Plutarch. (Philopoemen, 1.) [The details of Philopoemen's policy, which are given in the text very briefly and without criticism, should be studied either in Freeman's *Federal Government*, or in Hertzberg's *Greece under the Romans*, vol. i. — *Ed.*]

² Livy, xxxix. 51; Plut., *Flam.* 28. The same year, it is said, Scipio died in his voluntary exile at Liternum.

³ Diademed head of Pharnaces I., from a tetradrachm.

Alexandria, moreover, seemed a world so vast and troublous, that neither kings nor peoples had any occasion to look beyond it; Carthage was striving to have herself forgotten; Masinissa had just taken from her a third province; she had dared only to complain and to solicit from the Senate a vague promise of protection against further encroachments. In Spain the war was about to cease; in Italy almost all the Cisalpine Gauls were submissive; Macedon only remained erect and strong.

Every day, to nourish his resentment, Philip had his treaty with the Romans read over to him. His emissaries had returned from the banks of the Danube. A numerous tribe famous for their courage, the Bastarnæ, had accepted his offers. To these barbarians he promised a safe way through Thrace, where the terror of his arms had produced a great impression; he assured them provisions, pay, and the fruitful lands in the country of the Dardanians. This people being destroyed, he proposed to let loose the Bastarnæ upon Italy, while himself should rouse Greece and call all the kings to liberty.

But the malicious prudence of the Senate was to bear its fruit. Demetrius on his return into Macedon had found there a powerful faction, who desired peace at any price, and at once placed him at their head as the friend of Rome. The partisans of war had for leader an elder brother of Demetrius, Perseus, who, being the son of a woman of low birth, feared lest Philip might leave the crown to Demetrius. To ruin this rival, Perseus represented him to the King as a traitor urged on by Flaminius and by his own ambition to snatch the power from his father. The unfortunate Philip hesitated between his two sons; and the young prince having attempted to flee to Rome, the King resolved upon his death. He was invited to attend a sacrificial feast at Heraclea, where poisoned food was given him (182). It is said that later Philip became aware of his son's innocence, and that in consequence he died of grief (179).



PHILIP V. OF MACEDON.¹

¹ Head of Philip V., father of Perseus, from a coin. (Mionnet, *Supp.*, vol. iii.; cf. *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. iii. p. 108.)

II. PERSEUS.

AFTER having conquered Perseus, the Romans have striven to dishonor him. Their historians have made use of the rights of war, *vae victis!* and those of later times have done the same. But does not Livy accuse Hannibal of incapacity, while in the case of Perseus he extols the purity of manners, the truly royal majesty of demeanor, the skill in manly exercises and in all labors in peace and war of the Macedonian King?¹ He vaguely accuses him of having killed his wife, and reproaches him distinctly with the murder of Demetrius. But by Livy's own account it is evident that Perseus had reason to believe himself in danger.

COTYS.²

He represents him as avaricious, and caring more for his treasures than for his crown; yet when the cities of Macedon offered him subsidies of their own free will, he refused them;³ when Cotys had served in the Macedonian army six months with 2,000 auxiliaries, he gave him for his cavalry 100 talents more than had been agreed upon.⁴ We shall see by and by whether there was not some excuse for his conduct towards Gentius and the Bastarnae. Within his kingdom Perseus was able to gain the affection and the devoted obedience of his subjects; without, he so raised the respect felt for Macedon that during ten years he kept the eyes of the world fixed upon her.⁵ As to the murders attributed to him, either proof is lacking, as in the charge of Rammius of Brundisium, or they made part of that policy of perfidy and assassination common to all kings at that time, and to Rome herself. They who had caused the death of Hannibal, of Philopoemen, and of Brachyllas were not in a position to reproach Perseus with the murder of Eumenes.

¹ Livy: *Nihil paternae lasciviae*, etc. He follows Polybius here, as in almost all that concerns Greece and the East. Perseus was at this time thirty-one.

² Head of Cotys III., from a bronze coin.

³ *Legationes civitatum venerant ad pecunias . . . et frumentum pollicendum ad bellum.* (Livy.) Upon his accession he remitted to his subjects all that they owed as taxes, and restored to those recalled from banishment their confiscated property and even the revenues during their absence. (Polybius, xxvi. 3.)

⁴ Two hundred talents, that is, for 1,000 horsemen. (Livy, xlii. 67.)

⁵ *Ipsius Persei . . . celebrari nomen.* (Livy.)

Doubt has been cast even upon his courage; but he was present in all his battles; he led all expeditions, — in Thrace, in Illyria, in Epirus, against the Dardanians, and in Aetolia. At Pydna, having been wounded the preceding day, he flung himself without cuirass into the midst of his broken phalanx. Perseus, therefore, was neither better nor worse than the principal men of his time.

It was said that Philip had desired to leave his crown to the nephew of his former guardian, Antigonus; and Perseus hastened to rid himself of a dangerous rival. But he was careful not to come to an open rupture with the Senate. He laid his crown at their feet; he renewed the treaty his father had made with them; and for six years he seemed to have no other object than to turn away from himself the attention of Rome. He felt, however, that a menace hung forever over his head, and that the causes which brought about the second Macedonian war were preparing a third. The completion of the work Flamininus had begun in Greece demanded the destruction of the kingdom of Macedon. The senators of Rome were not the men to ask themselves whether this would be an honorable thing, it sufficed that it would be useful; and they had the art, often practised since their time, of making the victim appear the aggressor. Perseus had never conceived the mad design of playing the part of Hannibal, or of attempting that of Antiochus. He had not even at his command the resources possessed by his father at the time of Philip's earlier struggles against Rome. He could therefore have no other thought than that of organizing in silence and in secret the defence of his own territories. But this he did with energy.

PERSEUS.¹

Philip had left him a well-filled treasury; he improved its condition still further, and amassed means to pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years. He had no fleet; to create one would have been equivalent to a declaration of war. This he did not venture; but he destroyed all his seaports which were not in a condition to defend themselves. He gathered in his arsenals weapons to equip three

¹ Diademed head of Perseus, from a tetradrachm.

armies, and also a store of provisions sufficient for ten years.¹ By his Thracian expeditions Philip had inured his army to war, and Perseus now kept them in training by a successful campaign against the Dolopians, who had proposed to place themselves under the protection of Rome. The Macedonian army at this time amounted to 45,000 able-bodied men. Finally, to gather all his people around him, Perseus opened the prisons, remitted unpaid taxes, and recalled all those who had been sent into exile. Edicts posted at Delphi, Delos, and in the temple of the Ithonian Athene promised them safety and the restitution of their possessions.

Philip had never been able to make the Greeks forget his cruelty. Perseus sent ambassadors to all their



SELEUCUS IV.²

cities, asking for oblivion of the past and an honest alliance in the future. To secure the friendship of the Athenians and the Achaeans, he sent back to them those of their slaves to whom his father had given asylum in former years. Thessaly was incapable of self-government, and Perseus took advantage of her

divisions, supporting the weak against the strong, the debtor against his creditor; and Macedonian garrisons were soon replaced in nearly



PRUSIAS II.³

all the cities whence the Romans had expelled them. Epirus had turned against Philip with reluctance, and Perseus secretly restored the old alliance. The Boeotians had rejected the friendship of his father; they publicly accepted his in a treaty which was posted at Thebes, Delos, and Delphi. Had it not been for certain well-advised and judicious persons, Achaea would

have done the same; and to Perseus the Aetolians addressed themselves in a case of disturbance. Gentius, a petty king of Illyria, alarmed by the neighborhood and the threats of the Romans,⁴ promised auxiliaries in exchange for money, and Cotys, King of the Thracian Odrysae, engaged to share all his perils.

¹ Livy, xlii. 12; Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 8.

² Diademed head of Seleucus IV., Philopator, from a tetradrachm.

³ Diademed head of Prusias II., from a tetradrachm.

⁴ See in Livy, xl. 42, the accusations of the praetor Duronius.

The King of Syria, Seleucus IV., had given Perseus his daughter in marriage, and a Rhodian fleet brought the bride to Macedon;¹ and Prusias, the son of Seleucus, was only waiting the opportunity to attack in Asia Eumenes, the favorite of the Senate. Meanwhile the latter had not failed to discover that the friendship of Rome was sometimes a very heavy burden,² and he was seeking to secure that of Antiochus IV. Rhodes, ill recompensed for her services, and detecting the agency of the Senate in the insurrection of the Lycians against her authority, was making overtures to Perseus; and even deputies from the Asiatic cities⁴ had secret interviews with him for several days in the Island Samothrace. At Carthage his ambassadors were received by the Senate at night in the temple of Aesculapius.⁵ And, finally, 30,000 Bastarnæ were on the march, and the rumor of their advance struck terror in Italy.⁶

ANTIOCHUS IV.³

Thus the work that Hannibal had not been able to do, Perseus seemed likely to accomplish. Encouraged by the universal hatred aroused against Rome in consequence of her ambition, he advanced more boldly. That the Greeks might again behold the Macedonian ensigns, which they had not seen in twenty years, he came with an army, under pretext of offering sacrifices to Apollo, as far as the temple of Delphi. In Thrace and Illyria the Senate had allies, and Perseus plundered Abrupolis, and caused the Illyrian chief Arthetauros to be slain.⁷ Two Thebans strove to retain

¹ Polybius, xxvi. 5.

² Livy says of him and of Attalus: *Jam enim suspectos habebat Romanos*. He assured to Antiochus the throne which Heliodorus, the assassin of Seleucus, was endeavoring to usurp. The gains made by Philip and Perseus in Thrace had only the effect of attaching him to the Roman cause. However, he offered to sell Perseus his neutrality at the price of 500 talents, or his co-operation at 1,500. After a noble conflict of avarice, says Polybius (xxix. 2, 5, and 9), they separated, like two brave athletes, with equal advantage on both sides. But I am not disposed to believe this story of Polybius, who repeats common rumor, but gives no authentic fact.

³ Head of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, from a tetradrachm.

⁴ Livy, xlii. 25. However, they had not the courage to declare themselves; in 170, deputies from a large number of them came to Rome. As to the Rhodians, the Senate informed them that the Lycians had not been given them as subjects, but as allies and friends. (Polybius, xxvi. 5.)

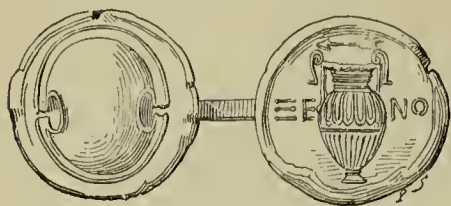
⁵ Livy, xli. 27.

⁶ A deputation of Dardanians came to ask assistance against them.

⁷ Livy, xlii. 13; and Polybius, xxvii.

Boeotia in the Roman Alliance, and they fell by assassination.

Eumenes, alarmed at this resurrection of Macedonian power,



COIN OF BOEOTIA.¹

hastened to denounce it at Rome. He made known in the Senate the preparations of Perseus, his intrigues to gain everywhere the popular party, to the detriment of the friends of Rome, and his crimes, real or supposed. "Seeing," he said, "that

you leave the field open in Greece, and that nothing has exhausted your patience, he believes that he shall be able to come into Italy without meeting a single soldier upon his way." Eumenes terminated this spiteful appeal by the habitual invocation of the gods.

Perseus on his part had sent ambassadors into Italy; they asked permission to reply to Eumenes, and did so with hauteur, almost with menace. "The King," they said, "is anxious to justify himself. He hopes that nothing in his acts or words will be regarded as hostile; at the same time, if a pretext of war is sought persistently, he will defend himself bravely. The favors of Mars are indiscriminate, and the issue of war is uncertain."

Eumenes, loaded with presents, among which were the consular insignia, the curule chair, and the ivory wand, returned home by way of Greece; and Perseus, certain that he would go up to Delphi for the purpose of offering sacrifice to Apollo, posted assassins upon the road. To give access to this famous temple, the Romans had built a fine road; the Greeks had never taken this trouble.² Above Cirrha the ascent is rapid, and at a certain spot near a ruin was a mere footpath, rendered even more narrow by a landslip. Four brigands concealed themselves behind the ruin, and awaited the King, who arrived, followed by his friends and his guards. As the party ascended they became more scattered, until, as he approached the ruin, Eumenes was alone with Pantaleon, the Aetolian chief. At this moment the concealed assassins

¹ Boeotian buckler. On the reverse, a vase (*diota*); above it, an arrow, and on each side of the vase ΕΕΝΟ, a magistrate's name. Didrachm of the Boeotians.

² [The Greek system of roads, though not to be compared to the Roman, was very good, and travelling was quite easy. Roads to Delphi were very old, and well cared for. — *Ed.*]

rolled down great stones, one of which struck the King on the head, another on the shoulder; he fell fainting, and was believed dead. All fled, even the assassins, who did not suppose they needed to despatch their victim. They climbed up the mountain with all possible speed, and one of their number being unable to keep pace with the rest, they slew him, that he should not fall living into the hands of the guards, who, discovering their small number, had followed in pursuit.

The Aetolian, however, remained near the King, covering him with his body until the guards returned. Eumenes, still insensible, was carried on board his vessel, which sailed

at once for Corinth, and thence to Aegina, being carried across the isthmus; there the party stopped; and a profound silence was maintained in respect to what had occurred. The Pergameans, well aware from whose hand this blow had come, were too near neighbors to Macedon not to find it advisable to keep secret the results of the injury or the prospects of recovery. The report of the King's death soon reached Pergamus; and Attalus, his brother, hastened to claim the kingdom and the hand of the Queen, his sister-in-law.

A Roman commissioner, Valerius, was at this time in Greece.



ALTAR OF APOLLO.¹

¹ Bas-relief in the *Villa Albani*, published by P. Piranesi (vol. ii. p. 235, pl. 98). The god holds his lyre, and at his side is the *corymbos*, or box containing his arrows and bows, one of which appears to end in a raven's head, and the other in a griffin's. Another bas-relief, in the Museo Pio Clementino (vol. iv. pl. 43) represents the *corymbos* carried on the shoulder like a quiver.

He returned to Rome to report the event to the Senate, bringing with him two witnesses against the King of Macedon. The first of these was the woman who usually lodged Perseus when he came to Delphi, and who, upon a receipt of a letter from him, had put at the disposal of his agents the house near which the crime had been committed. The second, Rammius, of Brundisium, at whose house were usually entertained Romans of distinction on their way from Italy into Greece, and envoys from foreign nations, testified that Perseus had sent for him, and had made him the most liberal offers if he would agree to poison such Romans lodged in his house as should be designated to him by the King.

Perseus, roughly handled by Livy, has naturally had apologists to the uttermost. I cannot admit that the assassination of Eumenes was a Roman fiction, or that it was a venture of obscure bandits. To suppress the King of Pergamus was a most useful measure, and one, besides, affording Perseus the sweets of revenge, — two motives, in those times, amply sufficient. In my judgment we should accept against him the unsuccessful attempt at Delphi, while conceding that Rammius, who happened to be in Greece, returning from a journey into Macedon, invented a falsehood to account for his presence at Pella, to curry favor with Rome and to advance his own interests. For, in accordance with Roman usage, this *delatio* would bring him large recompense.¹

Hostilities were to commence in the year 172. An incident, curious in the constitutional history of Rome, suspended them. The consul, M. Popillius had, in the preceding year, and without declaration of war, attacked the Statielli [in the Maritime Alps]; 10,000 were slain, and as many more sold into slavery. As at this time many military chiefs believed themselves at liberty to do whatever they pleased in their provinces, the Senate found it opportune to give one of them a lesson. The condition of affairs, moreover, was such that it was imprudent to provoke all the mountaineers of Liguria. They ordered Popillius, therefore, to restore to the surviving Statielli their liberty, and also the possessions of which they had been deprived. This was an affront to the consul, and one which the Senate had no right to inflict; for if

¹ Livy, xlii. 15-17. Perseus caused a declaration to be made to the Senate that the charge was calumnious.



PLATEAU OF CASTRI (DELPHI) AND MOUNT PARNASSUS.

he had been cruel, he had at least acted within the limits of his *imperium*. To the tribunes alone belonged the right to summon him on the expiration of his term of office before the people, who might then punish him with a fine or with banishment. The *senatus-consultum*, therefore, was a new encroachment made by the Censcript Fathers upon the consular authority. Popillius reproached them with it in an assembly which he called together in the temple of Bellona; he condemned the praetor who had made the proposal of the fine, demanded the suppression of the decree, and, instead of a vote of censure, a formal thanksgiving to the gods for his victory. The year passed without the settlement of this difficulty. A year later, the new consuls, of whom one was the brother of Popillius, renewed the discussion, and the irritated Senate decreed that for the year 172 the consular province should be the poor Liguria, and not the wealthy Macedon. This delay gave time to complete the preparations, planned on a large scale, and the negotiations which were to isolate Macedon. The world remained, therefore, a year longer anxiously awaiting that struggle which should again raise the problem apparently settled by the victory of Zama.

Would Perseus take the offensive, and, in the hope of rousing Greece, come forth from those Macedonian mountains which seemed impregnable ramparts? No doubt the audacity of this course would have made it, for a time, successful, and his army would have been augmented by some few volunteers.¹ But the kings and the nations who, in secret, so ardently desired his success, would not have dared to furnish him with a single soldier. Antiochus forgot his brother, retained a hostage on the banks of the Tiber, to dispute with Philometor the possession of Coele-Syria, and sent to Rome an embassy with sumptuous presents for the temples, and servile language for the Senate. Masinissa, who had just deprived Carthage of a fourth province containing seventy cities, was securing the complaisant silence of Rome at the price of important assistance; but not to expose themselves to the risk of

¹ Livy, xlii. 25. *Omnes reges civitatesque . . . converterant animos in curam . . . belli (ibid. 29). In liberis gentibus plebs ubique omnis . . . erat ad regem Macedonasque inclinata (ibid. 30).* But the aristocratic party, everywhere sustained by Rome, was also everywhere the stronger.

kindling a war in Africa just as the one in Macedon was about to begin, the Numidian was forbidden to drive the Carthaginians to extremities. Eumenes had persuaded Ariarathus to enter into alliance with Rome; ¹ Rhodes dared not refuse vessels to the Senate; Ptolemy offered them. Cotys, King of the Odrysae, was favorable to Perseus, but other Thracian chiefs sided with Rome; Gentius, a cruel and profligate prince, demanded immense pay for a sham assistance, ² and the Bastarnae demanded for foot-soldiers, five pieces of gold per man, for cavalry, ten, and 1,000 for the officer in command. These extortionate demands justly gave rise to distrust in the King's mind, and he permitted the departure of auxiliaries whose fidelity, as well as their courage, was entirely venal. ³ And so, when the time for the struggle came, Perseus was alone.

Early in the year 171 the Senate at last issued the following decree: "For the safety and the welfare of the Republic, the consuls, at the first meeting of the *comitia centuriata*, will make the following proposition: Inasmuch as Perseus, contrary to the treaty made with his father and renewed by himself, has taken arms against our allies, has devastated their territory and seized upon their cities, and inasmuch as he has collected arms, soldiers, and ships to commence war against the Roman people, may it please the people, if this King does not give satisfaction, that war be made upon him." The Assembly, according to custom, accepted without debate the proposition of the Senate. Two legions were at once levied, their effective force being raised from 5,200 men to 6,000 infantry and 300 cavalry. The contingent of the allies was also raised, and fixed at 16,000 infantry and 1,400 horse. The two legions therefore consisted of 28,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The disproportion between the two services was excessive; but the war

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 39; xlii. 19. Ariarathus, of Cappadocia, sent of his own accord his second son as hostage to Rome. We may observe, as a trait of diplomatic manners at this time, that the Senate made a present to the ambassador of 100,000 *ases*, that a house was provided for him, and the entire expenses of his establishment were defrayed during his stay in Italy. This was an obligation resulting from the *hospitium publicum*; Roman envoys would have been similarly received in Cappadocia.

² Polybius, xxix. 7. This petty King, whose importance has been strangely exaggerated, did not even fight one battle in defence of his territory, which Anicius captured in a few days. The auxiliaries furnished by Cotys were 1,000 horsemen and the same number of infantry.

³ Plutarch, *Aemil.*, 12, *seq.*; Livy, xlv. 26. [The adverse view of Perseus attributes this declining of aid to mere personal stinginess.—*Ed.*]

was to be carried on in a mountainous country where cavalry would not be needed. Quite a number of foreign auxiliaries, Ligurians, Cretans, and Numidians, were formed into a corps of light troops, whose service might be very useful. Masinissa even sent elephants. A *senatus-consultum*, ratified by a *plebiscitum*, decreed that for the war in Macedon all the legionary tribunes should be appointed by the consul.

Recruiting was easy. Since the armies in Greece and Asia¹ had been seen to return with great booty, wars in the East had become popular. Only one difficulty arose. With the desire of organizing this army most thoroughly, a *senatus-consultum* had directed the enrolment of former centurions not over fifty years of age. Many of these officers, not having obtained the rank to which they believed themselves entitled,² complained to the tribunes of the people; the affair coming before an assembly over which the consul presided, one of them asked permission to speak. His address will show what had been for half a century the life of a plebeian. Elsewhere³ we will show what inferences must be drawn concerning the condition of the people resulting from these long wars. "Romans," he said, "I am Spurius Ligustinus, of the Crustumian tribe, and sprung from the Sabine country. My father left me one acre of land and a small cottage, where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought me nothing but her virtue, — except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedon, I served as a common soldier against Philip for two years; and in the third year Titus Quintius Flaminius, in reward of my good conduct, gave me command of the tenth company of *hastati*. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer with

¹ *Quia locupletes videbant qui . . . stipendia fecerunt.* (Livy, xlii. 32.)

² Among the sixty centurions of a legion, there was an order in which each had his exact place; for example, the *primipilares* were regarded as having a post of eminent distinction.

³ In chap. xxxvi.

the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. This commander judged me deserving of being set to command the *principes*. A third time I entered as a volunteer, in the army which was sent against the Aetolians and King Antiochus; I afterward made two campaigns in Spain. . . . Four times . . . was first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times was honored by my commanders with presents for bravery. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and am upwards of fifty years of age. Moreover, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, it were reasonable that I should be discharged. But I wish you to consider these words merely as a statement of my case; as to offering anything as an excuse from service, that is what I shall never do, so long as any officer enlisting troops shall believe me fit for it. And now, fellow-soldiers, you too ought to be amenable to the authority of the Senate and consuls, and to think every post honorable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

These patriotic words, whose authenticity, at least in substance, is unquestionable, had doubtless been prepared by the consul. The plan succeeded; the centurions withdrew their complaint, and the generals had experienced men to take command of their cohorts.

Religious precautions were joined to military preparations. One of the consuls received from the Senate the order to make a new treaty with Heaven, vowing "to Jupiter, the good and great, ten days of games, and to all the gods offerings, if the Republic should remain for ten years in the same condition as now."

The Senate had at first sent across the Adriatic only a praetor and 5,000 men. But seven commissioners preceded the army; they traversed Greece, where their mere presence sufficed to destroy the effect of six years of prudence and of concessions,—a clear proof that Perseus could not, as has been suggested, have trusted to this anchor for his fortunes. In Thessaly, all the cities not occupied by the Macedonians gave hostages, who were shut up in Larissa. In Aetolia, where sanguinary dissensions¹ deprived the people of what little strength remained to them, the Roman

¹ See in Livy (xli. 25) the massacre of the eighty chief men. *Idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat.*

envoy obtained the appointment of a partisan as *strategus*, and sent away into Italy all who were known as enemies of Rome; in Boeotia they broke up the league, and recovered all the cities to the Roman alliance; in the Peloponnesus the Achaeans, for a time undecided, promised at last to send 1,000 men to the defence of Chalcis. Acarnania and even Epirus showed a promising eagerness. From the recesses of his mountains, Perseus watched these negotiations of the Roman envoys, and he permitted Greece to be filched from him without risking a battle, as if she were not worth the honor of a struggle. Instead of acting, he negotiated; and after having exasperated his implacable foe, he threw away the one chance that he had, not of conquering, but of falling gloriously, after having perhaps for a while shaken the world.

While the praetor with his small force was taking up a position in Dassaretia, Perseus solicited a truce which Marcius, the head of the Roman deputation, hastened to grant him, congratulating himself on being able to deceive the King by this allure-ment of negotiating; for the truce was barren of advantage to Perseus, while it gave the Romans time to finish their preparations. "This is Punic craft," old senators said. "Not so," replied the younger, "but only good statesmanship." Whatever Livy's legend may say, this people had never been so chivalrous that Marcius should seem to them too crafty. At Rome the same conduct prevailed. The deputies of the King were kept waiting five months for an answer. When, finally, they were admitted into the presence of the Senate, in the temple of Bellona, they inquired, in the name of Perseus, why these armies were on their way towards Macedon, and promised on the King's part satisfaction if they should be withdrawn. Reply was made them that the consul Licinius would soon be in Macedon with an army; that to him the King must address himself if he wished to offer satisfaction; and that, in respect to themselves, they had no reason to remain any longer in Rome, and must before the end of eleven days have quitted Italy. An order was at the same time issued to expel all Macedonians resident in the peninsula, allowing them thirty days to depart. Following them closely, the consul Licinius landed near Apollonia; without opposition he traversed Epirus, Athamania, and the defiles of Gomphi; Perseus was awaiting him

at the foot of Mount Ossa, at the entrance of the Vale of Tempe, the only road from Thessaly into Macedon. This long, narrow gorge, through which the Peneus with difficulty makes its way between the lower spurs of Ossa on one side and Olympus on the other, was in ancient times extremely famous for its picturesque beauty and savage grandeur. At Sycurium, near the entrance into this romantic gorge, the soldiers of Perseus and those of Rome met for the first time. The advantage was not with the Romans. Licinius got the worst in a skirmish, which would have become



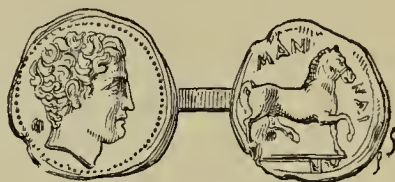
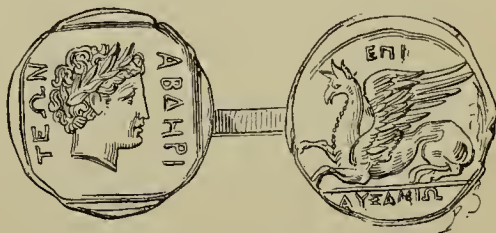
LARISSA (PRESENT CONDITION).¹

a general engagement if Perseus had advanced his phalanx. Recrossing the Peneus during the night, the Roman general left on the other bank, dead or prisoners, more than 2,400 of his troops.

Greece applauded this first success. But Perseus stood still and asked for peace, offering tribute and the relinquishment of his conquests. The defeated consul demanded that Perseus should place himself and his kingdom at the disposal of the

¹ Baron von Stackelberg, *Picturesque Views in Greece*. Larissa is at the present day decimated by fever, arising from the marshes of the Salambria; and notwithstanding its 30,000 inhabitants, it is a dead, or at least a dying, city.

Senate. He was not able, however, to justify this arrogant tone, being a second time repulsed, near Phalana; and he withdrew into winter quarters in Boeotia, after the capture of a few Thessalian cities. A naval victory and successes in Thrace terminated this campaign favorably for Perseus. The odious conduct of the consul and of Lucretius, the praetor, who pillaged the allies shamelessly, increased the discontent; many districts of Epirus declared openly for the King of Macedon,² and Aetolia and Acarnania were in revolt.

COIN OF PHALANA.¹COIN OF ABDERA³

A new consul, A. Hostilius, as incapable as his predecessor, now arrived. In traversing Epirus, he narrowly escaped capture. The campaign corresponded to this beginning; Hostilius began with a defeat, and wasted the year in seeking an entrance into Macedon. Everywhere Perseus, impregably entrenched, opposed him. The two lieutenants who attacked by sea and from the Illyrian side were not more successful. One signalized himself only by the sack of Abdera; Claudius, the other, posted at Lychnidus, lost 6,000 men in an ill-conducted attempt upon Uscana. As soon as he was aware of the premature retreat of the Romans into their winter quarters, Perseus hastened to chastise the Dardanians, of whom he destroyed 10,000 men, and he employed the winter in capturing several places in Illyria, making 6,000 Romans prisoners.⁴ It was his intention to close the approaches to Macedon on this side, and perhaps secure the alliance of Gentius. The latter, above all things, required money; and this Perseus refused to give. Epirus appeared to be

¹ Man's head. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants of the city, and a free horse. Didrachm of Phalana.

² It has been said that the whole of Epirus declared for Perseus, but the Molossi arrested his advance on the banks of the Aëus in 170, and Claudius was able to levy 6,000 Thesprotian and Athamanian auxiliaries. (Livy, xliii. 21.) Marcus bought from the Epirotes, in 169, the provisions necessary for the army in Macedon. (Livy, xliv. 16.)

³ Laurelled head of Apollo and the people's name, ΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΕΩΝ. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΩ, magistrate's name, a griffin couchant. Tetradrachm of Abdera.

⁴ Livy, xliii. 20.

in revolt; he hoped to involve Aetolia also, and he advanced as far as Stratus with 10,000 men. But the Romans were already in possession of the city.

This activity and these successes were an invitation to the undecided to make common cause with Perseus; but it was at this very moment that embassies to Rome were abundant. Athens, Miletus, Alabanda, Crete, all renewed their offers of service and their gifts. Lampsacus solicited the title of ally. The Carthaginians had offered 1,500,000 bushels of corn; Masinissa promised an equal quantity, and moreover 1,200 Numidians and twelve elephants, having before this sent twenty-two elephants and 2,000 auxiliaries.² Perseus was still isolated.



COIN OF ALABANDA.¹

However, thanks to the incapacity of the generals, this war was becoming serious; anxiety was increasing at Rome; senators were forbidden to go more than a mile away from the city. Sixty thousand men were levied in Italy, and the new consul Marcius brought with him considerable reinforcements to fill the gaps made in the army by the furloughs which the consuls and praetors had sold. To neutralize the effect of the exactions of which the Greeks had been victims, he caused a decree of the Senate to precede him, forbidding anything to be furnished to the generals beyond what the Senate had ordered.

The Cambunian Mountains and Mount Olympus protect Macedon on the south, from which direction Marcius decided to make his advance; and the barrier is a formidable one. Some of his officers advised an advance by way of Pythium, between Olympus and the Cambunian Mountains; others, to turn these mountains, where Perseus had accumulated the means of defence, and enter the kingdom through the district of Elymeia, at the pass of the Forty-Fords (Sarandaporos).

¹ Head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ, name of the people, and a magistrate's name, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ, Pegasus, and a thunderbolt. Tetradrachm of Alabanda.

² Rhodes, Samos, Chalcidon, and, from the Black Sea, Heracleia Pontica, had sent vessels. (Livy, xlii. 56.)

The road from Pythium led to the defile of Petra, defended by a fort built upon a rocky peak, above which towered the summits of Olympus, 10,000 feet high. It would have been imprudent to advance with the entire army into gorges so easy of defence, and so far away from depots established in Thessaly. From Olossona the road is shorter into Pieria by way of the



MT. OLYMPUS AND THE DEFILE OF TEMPE (FROM M. HEUZEY).

Kanalia, but it was a pass difficult for an army to attain, and from it the descent was still harder; for it would be necessary to follow down the course of four mountain torrents, which had formed impassable ravines upon the eastern slope. Seen from below, these gorges showed the great mountain cleft, as it were, from base to summit. As regards the defile of Tempe, a traveller might indeed easily go through, but not a legion, if the smallest body of troops guarded it; and for a length of five miles a beast

of burden would scarcely find room to pass through, with its load.¹

These natural defences, accumulated along the road by which the Romans were advancing, seemed almost to forbid them entrance into Macedon. Besides, all the footpaths were guarded. Perseus, with a skill which has not been properly appreciated, had posted 10,000 men upon the Volustana, commanding the two defiles of Sarandaporos and Petra. He had posted 12,000 with Hippias near Lake Ascuris, probably upon Mount Sipoto, in order to intercept the passage by footpaths over the mountain. Furthermore, he had thrown troops into the Vale of Tempe, and was himself at Dium, behind these defences, to strengthen them wherever they might prove weak; and to avoid being attacked in the rear by sailors from the Roman fleet, he had covered the coast with his light cavalry.

Marcus for some time hesitated as to the point at which he should attempt to break through this formidable line; he finally decided upon an enterprise whose very boldness would give it the most important results if it should prove successful. He resolved to march around the vast marsh Ascuris with his elephants, baggage, and a month's provisions, and to ascend the plateau Octolophos, or the Eight Summits, one of which now bears the name, "the Mount of Transfiguration," and is 4,900 feet in height. "Thence," says the historian, "all the country was visible from Phila to Dium, and all the coast of Pieria."² While the consul was crossing the mountains, the praetor with his fleet was to threaten the coast and make descents upon it. Marcus had 37,000 men; he hastened with a part of this force against the division of Hippias, with the purpose of crushing it, if possible, or at least of holding it in check. A body of picked men moving around Lake Ascuris opened to him on the south the road towards Rapsani, which was defended by the fortress Lapathus; another by

¹ Livy, xlv. 6; following Polybius, who accompanied the army as deputy from the Achaean, and from whom Livy borrows his exact description of these localities.

² M. Heuzey, who has been over the road by which Marcus made this ascent, and believes that he has found the very site of the Roman camp, confirms the words of Livy. "From this height," he says, "you see below you all the sea-coast; in the distance you can discern the vast curve of the Gulf of Salonica, and the city with its walls on the farther shore; then the long points of Chalcidice, and even in fine weather Mount Athos." (*Le Mont Olympe*, p. 11.) From M. Heuzey's learned work we have borrowed the plan on p. 163.

way of the west attacked the Macedonians, who were posted on the heights. For two days fighting went on, while the King dared not quit the sea-coast to take advantage of the dangerous position in which the Romans were placed. The latter by sheer courage extricated themselves at last. While Hippias, under the stress of this fierce attack, was massing his forces for a desperate resistance, Marcius, concealing his movements behind a cordon of troops, threw himself along precipices and through roads upon the eastern slope of Olympus, whence with extreme danger and difficulty he made his way down to the plains of Pieria. His lines of communication had been cut, but he had forced the passage, and conquered Nature.

It was, indeed, over Nature that his victory had been gained. "The Romans," says the learned traveller, who step by step followed Marcius among these mountains, "came down precipices into Macedon. I have never seen anything more savage and grand than the slopes of the lower Olympus, which they passed; an immense forest envelopes in its dark shadows a region all crags and precipices. Down the ravines, which are wooded to the very bottom, rush noisy brooks. The vigor and variety of the vegetation are incredible,—trees of the plain, which you are surprised to meet at this altitude, evergreen oaks, and especially enormous plane-trees, rise along the banks of the mountain torrents into the very midst of the chestnuts and almost of the firs. It is easy to understand how in traversing these vast forests a whole army might be concealed from the enemy, who believed them retreating. . . . These woods are what remain of the forest Callipeuce of Livy. . . . From Skotina,¹ at the foot of the mountain, I strove to picture to myself the great opening cut by the axe, and all the disorder of this army tumbling over, as Livy tells us, rather than descending. The cavalry, the baggage, the beasts of burden, which caused the main difficulty, went forward with the elephants, the latter being made with infinite trouble to slide down upon inclined planes; the legions followed. From Skotina it took us at least four hours to reach the foot of the lowest

¹ M. Heuzey is of opinion that the descent was made in the direction of the present villages of Skotina and Pandeicimone. This latter, as it were, hangs amid the chestnut-trees above the Turkish fortress of Platamona, the ancient Heraeleion of Pieria.

slopes. There upon the edge of the plain were some hillocks covered with olive-trees and the ruins of a little monastery of Panaghia. This is the region where the Roman consul, after three days spent in the descent, at last encamped, the infantry occupying the hillocks, the cavalry in front, on the edge of the plain."

A strong rear-guard left upon the heights had concealed from the troops of Hippias this bold movement. And so in ten days from the time when he had received the army from the hands of his predecessor, Marcius had made his plans, collected his provisions, fought two battles upon Olympus, and forced his way through into Macedon. It is a brilliant page in military history.

During these operations Perseus was at Dium with half of his troops. Alarmed at sight of the legions,¹ he abandoned the strong position he occupied, and fell back towards Pydna, committing the unpardonable mistake of calling in the troops which were guarding the defiles. Instantly Marcius seized them; and with this his safety was secured. Re-assured in regard to his communications, the consul advanced upon Dium. But a scarcity of provisions and the approach of cold weather brought him to a stand. He ceased operations, and boldly went into winter quarters in Pieria.

To secure himself from all molestation, and at the same time to keep open his communications with Thessaly, whence he expected his supplies, Marcius caused the little towns guarding the Vale of Tempe — Phila, among others, where Perseus had gathered large magazines of corn — to be seized by his lieutenants. Finding himself too much exposed at Dium, where the plain of Pieria begins to widen, he concentrated his forces behind the Enipeus, thus securing a good line of defence for the winter. "This torrent," says Livy, "descends from a gorge of Mount Olympus. Though a little stream in the summer, the winter rains make it an impetuous torrent. It rushes over the rocks, forming furious eddies, and by hollowing out its channel, renders the banks on

¹ Livy maintains that in his alarm he sent two of his friends to Pella and Thessalonica with orders to burn his ships and throw his treasures into the sea. His situation was not desperate to this degree; and as Livy adds that, ashamed of his terror, he made away with the two persons to whom he had given these orders, it is safe to class this narrative with the others put in circulation by the Romans in respect to his cruelty, avarice, and cowardice.

either side both high and steep." The inhabitants call it Vythos [Βύθος], the *Abyss*; and it well deserves that name.

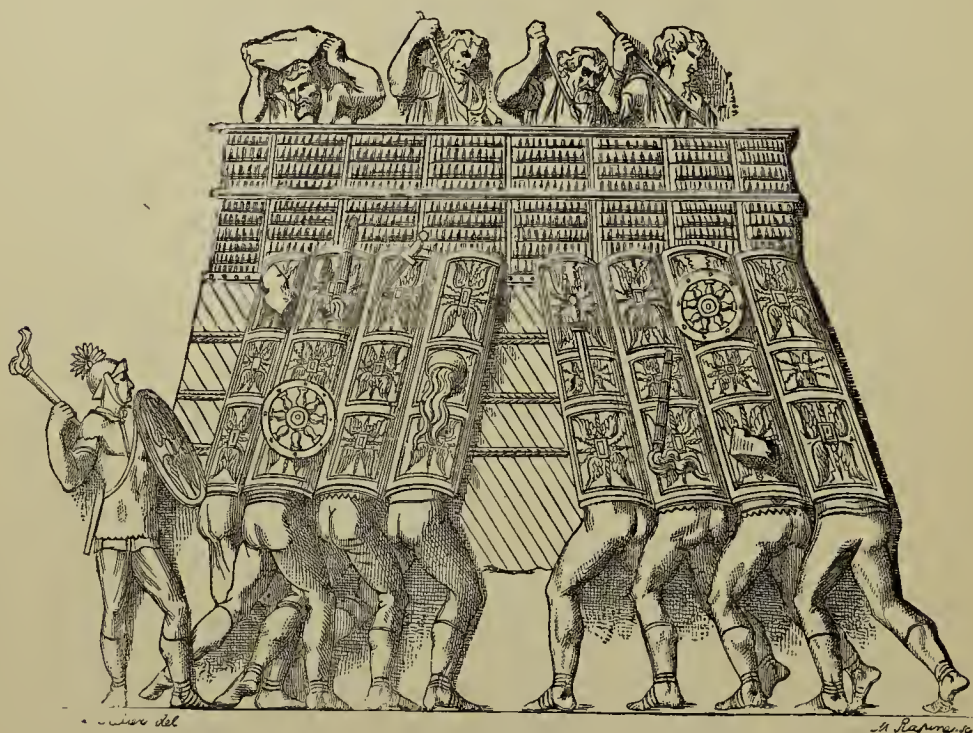
To the south of this furious torrent one place only, Heracleion, still remained in the possession of the Macedonians. To capture it the Romans employed a method of attack familiar to them, which has not hitherto been described in this history. In the games of the circus the young men occupied themselves with military exercises, one of which consisted in forming a roof of shields, borne by sixty or eighty of their number. The outside rows knelt, those in the middle stooped, and the front rank stood upright, all holding their shields over their heads and close together, the whole making an inclined plane, upon which two or three armed men leaped and fought there; this was the *testudo*. The walls of Heracleion were low; the Roman commander ordered the formation of the *testudo*. Then the soldiers mounted upon this *testudo*, cleared the ramparts of their defenders; after which the town was readily taken.

The rumor of these successes was beginning to arrive in Rome, when Rhodian deputies, presenting themselves before the Senate, made declaration that, ruined by this war, they wished to see it at an end; and that if Rome or Perseus refused to bring it to a close, they should determine upon what measures might be needful in respect to whichever of the two adversaries opposed the restoration of peace.¹ For sole answer there was read to them a decree of the Senate, setting free their subjects, the Carians and the Lycians. Eumenes also, whose pride had been wounded, had just abandoned the Roman camp, and Prusias presented himself as a mediator. It was clearly time to bring the Macedonian affair to a close. The comitia raised Paulus Aemilius to the consulate.

The new consul was a man of antique valor, a man of letters moreover, as were many of the nobles of Rome, a friend of the civilization and the arts of Greece, although a devout observer of

¹ [This extraordinary move of the Rhodians was induced by the Machiavellian policy of the consul Marcius, who suggested to them this mediation for the purpose of putting them in the power and under the indignation of Rome. It also appears from Appian (*Maced.* 12-16) that this consul's position on the Enipeus was over against a strong position of Perseus, which barred all further advance of the Romans. Thus the appointment of Paulus Aemilius was on military grounds expedient. — *Ed.*]

ancient customs; strict with the soldiers and the people, indifferent to popularity gained in the Forum, and, a merit becoming every day more rare, a man of principle. "No one," says an old writer, who by this very utterance makes a grave charge against his contemporaries, "no one would have dared offer him money." In war he had not always been successful; the Lusitanians had defeated him, and after his first consulate (182) the Ligurians had well nigh destroyed his entire army. But he had avenged



A TESTUDO.¹

himself upon the former by a victory in which he slew 18,000 men, and he had compelled the latter to swear at Rome that they would never again take arms except by order of the Senate; and these two campaigns had established his military reputation. Later he had solicited a second consulship, but in vain; and from that time, retiring from public life, had devoted himself to the education of his children. He was now elected consul, without solicitation on his part; and in spite of his sixty years, he displayed the activity of a young and careful general.

¹ Bas-relief from the column of Antoninus. Body of soldiers making the *testudo*, advancing to assail a place or perhaps to set fire to wooden ramparts.

Gentius, deceived by a promise of 300 talents, had at last declared against Rome. Eumenes had opened secret negotiations with Perseus; the Rhodians had almost gone over publicly to his side, and the Macedonian fleet ruled the Aegean Sea and the Cyclades. But Perseus had just deprived himself of the support of 20,000 Gauls whom he had summoned from the banks of the Danube; he had refused them the promised pay, at a moment when he would have done well to double it to obtain their help, even though that assistance might have become a danger after their joint victory.

Having ascertained all these facts, Paulus Aemilius arranged his plan. With the army of Marcius he proposed to attack Macedon in front and drive the King before him; with the fleet, Octavius would form the right wing, and after sweeping the Aegean Sea, would menace the coasts with the purpose of disturbing Perseus from the rear; Amicius, with the two Illyrian legions, would form the left wing, and having crushed Gentius, would fall back through Dassaretia into Macedon. Eighty thousand men, at the least estimate,¹ were to be in the field; and Licinius, the other consul, held in readiness an army on the shore of the Adriatic to hasten, if necessary, to the help of his colleague.

Before leaving Rome, Paulus Aemilius had taken occasion to address certain counsels to the people, which show us in ancient Rome the same habits of thought and action which prevail in modern capitals. After promising to use every means in his power to bring the war to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people, he went on to say: "Do you give full credit to whatever I shall write to you or to the Senate; but do not by your credulity encourage mere rumors, of which no man shall appear as the responsible author. In every circle, and truly at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedon, who know where the camp ought to be placed, what posts ought to be occupied by troops, when and through what pass Macedon should be entered, what magazines should be formed, how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea, when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only

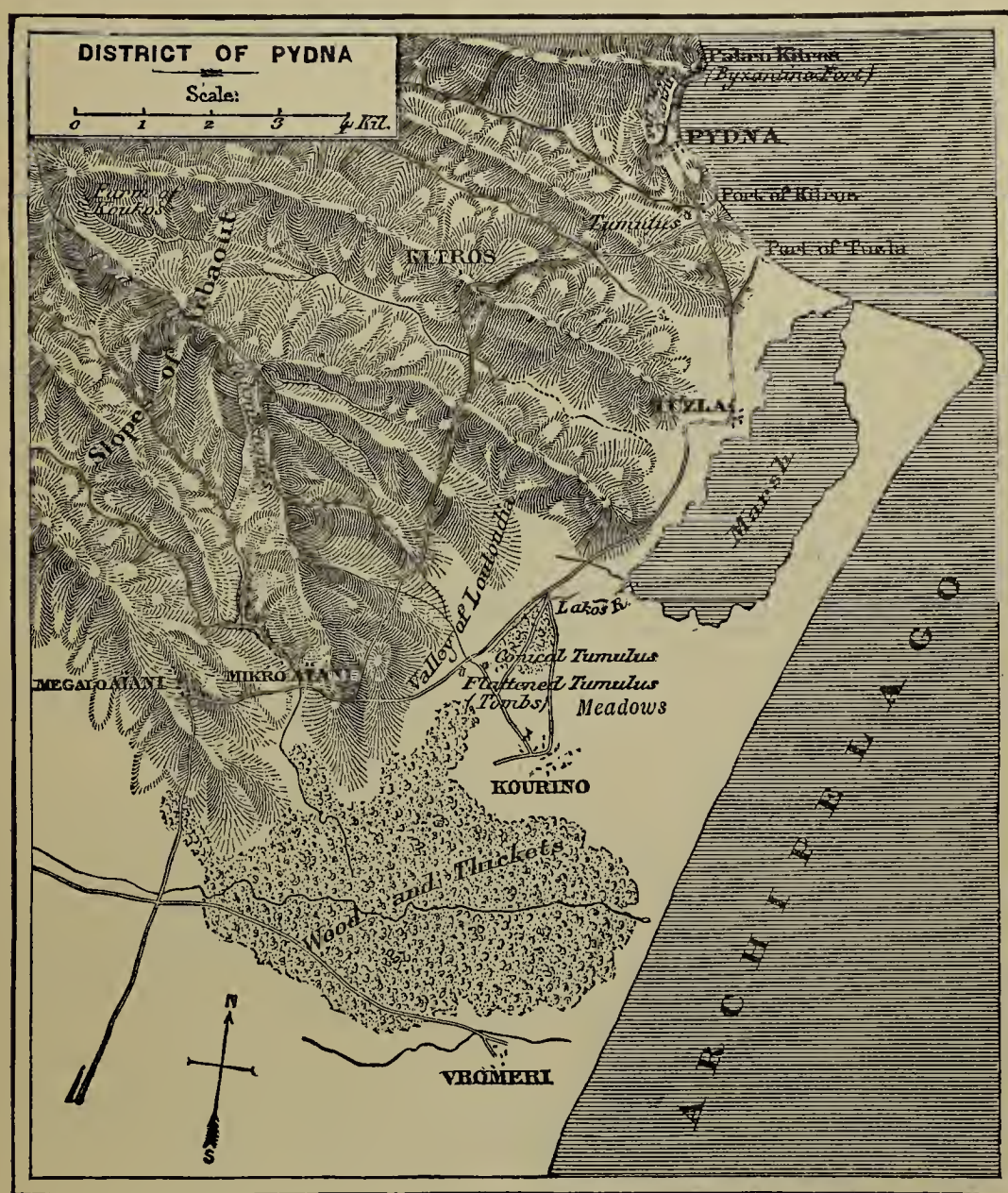
¹ Polybius and Plutarch (*Aemil.* 12) say 100,000; but these included garrisons.

determine what is best to be done, but if anything is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul as if he were on his trial. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs, for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise who did everything on his own single judgment If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified, respecting the war which I am to conduct, to give advice which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedon; he shall be furnished by me with a ship, a horse, a tent, and even with the costs of his journey. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not on land assume the office of a pilot. The city in itself furnishes abundance of topics for conversation: let it set limits to its passion for talking, and rest assured that we shall be content with such counsels as shall be framed within our camp."

In camp Paulus Aemilius first occupied himself with restoring Roman discipline to its former vigor. He filled the soldiers' idle time with useful labors, and brought military exercises again into repute. To increase the vigilance of the sentinels, he forbade them when on duty to carry their shields. The general's orders had hitherto been proclaimed aloud, so that often the enemy could overhear them: he now directed that the military tribunes should communicate to the centurions personally, and thus they should be passed through the army. The advanced guards had hitherto been kept on duty all day; he now ordered them to be relieved at noon, so that in case of attack the enemy should find at the outposts fresh and active men.

Perseus was encamped behind the Enipeus in the strong position we have described. By a feigned attack, kept up for two days, the consul endeavored to keep him there, while Scipio Nasica, with a picked force of 11,000 men, returned into the Vale of Tempe, and making a circuit around the foot of Mount Olympus, arrived by way of Pythium at the defile of Petra. The King had

had his suspicions awakened, and 12,000 Macedonians barred the road. They were poor troops, the better soldiers having been retained in the phalanx, confronting Paulus Aemilius; they had not even the ability to select advantageous positions, and Nasica easily got the better of them. He followed sharply upon the



ENVIRONS OF PYDNA.¹

fugitives' track, and made a capture of the fort Petra, which they did not even attempt to defend. Thence he came down into the

¹ Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, Plan D.

plain of Katerini; and Perseus, seeing himself between two fires, broke up his camp on the banks of the Enipeus, and retired to Pydna, to the northward of Katerini.

A plain, most advantageous for the phalanx, stretched before the city, and Perseus, who could no longer fall back without shame and disaster, resolved to offer battle. The night before the action an eclipse of the moon alarmed the Macedonians; by order of the consul, Sulpicius Gallus explained the phenomenon to the legions (June 22, 68).¹ A few days before, the army



FUNERAL COUCH IN MARBLE FOUND IN A TOMB AT PYDNA.²

had been suffering from thirst; judging from the slope of the mountains, he caused the soldiers to dig in the sand, and soon an abundant supply was obtained. The soldiers believed their leader inspired, and loudly clamored to be led against the enemy. But Paulus Aemilius, shut up between the sea and the mountains, with an army of 43,000 men before him, was unwilling to trust anything to chance. It was not until he had thoroughly fortified his camp that he felt himself ready to risk a decisive action.³ The Macedonians attacked with fury, and it was with

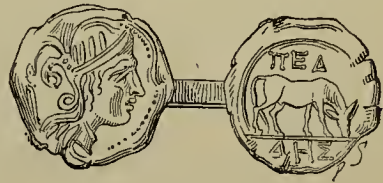
¹ This eclipse was not, as is usually asserted, predicted the evening before; it was explained on the day after it occurred. (Cic., *de Rep.* i. 15.) Hipparchus, the great astronomer, a contemporary of Paulus Aemilius, could have explained it, but not Gallus.

² Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20, fig. 1.

³ According to M. Heuzey, Nasica, descending the Valley of the Mavroneri on the day before the battle, rejoined the consul, who had come by the way of Sphigi. Paulus Aemilius

surprise and a kind of terror that the consul observed the firmness of the serried ranks and the bristling rampart of outstretched pikes. He, however, concealed his apprehension; and to inspire confidence among his troops, he moved about without wearing either helmet or cuirass.

At first the phalanx overthrew everything that opposed it; but being drawn on by success to a distance from the place which Perseus had assigned to it, the inequalities of the ground and the movement of the march created gaps in the ranks, into which Paulus Aemilius threw his men. From this time it was as it had been at Cynoscephalae; the shaken and broken phalanx lost its strength. Instead of a united attack, there were a thousand separate conflicts; the whole phalanx, that is to say, 20,000 men, were left upon the field, and the stream traversing it ran red with blood till the next day. The Romans confessed to a loss of but 100 men, — which is, however, improbable; and they made 11,000 prisoners. Pydna was given over to sack and pillage: its very ruins have disappeared; but, as is natural in such a place, tombs mark the spot where stood the flourishing city, and the memory of the day when Macedon fell lives yet confusedly in the legend, graceful, and yet terrible, which they tell at Palaeo-Kitros. In the place which was unquestionably the scene of the main action, lilies of a peculiar species carpet the soil; the people of the country call it “the valley of flowers (*Louloudia*),” and they assert that these lilies spring from the human blood shed there in a great battle.²



COIN OF PELLA.¹

established his camp on the higher portion of the plain between the Mavroneri and the Pelikas. Along this river the battle began, and the fugitives from the first line fled to Mount Olocros; the action, however, swept northward, and terminated near Aiani.

¹ Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΠΕΛΛΑΣ; an ass feeding. Copper coin of Pella.

² Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 242. Near the place where Pydna stood, at Kourino, great tumuli are still visible, one of which may have been raised to the memory of the Roman soldiers who fell here in battle, as the Athenians raised a tumulus to the heroes of Marathon. In one of them M. Heuzey saw a bas-relief in white marble representing a Roman soldier in armor. “To reach the sepulchral chamber we follow an arched passage leading underground. A door with side-posts inclined, after the Doric style, gives access to a little cell, and then to a second, whose entrance has a setting of white marble. The one represented by the chromo-lithograph leads to the third chamber, which is nearly four metres in length by three in width, with a vaulted roof.” It had previously been examined, and M. Heuzey found

From the field of battle Perseus fled to Pella. This capital, situated on a hill and surrounded by morasses impassable in summer



THE VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.¹

as well as in winter, was easily to be defended; but the King had no army left, and the inhabitants gave way to the general

nothing in it. But in another tumulus he saw a funereal couch of white marble, which must have been destined to receive the body of some important personage, either before or after the Roman victory, for the city recovered itself in some degree after the sack, although never attaining again its early importance. (Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe*, p. 172 *et sup.*, and *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20.)

¹ A magnificent colossal statue of the epoch of the successors of Alexander, much resembling in style the school of Phidias. It was discovered in 1863 behind the ruins of a Doric temple, at some distance from the ancient city of Samothrace (Palaeopolis). Museum of the Louvre; cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique*, p. 434.



PH. BENOIST, DEL.

MACEDONIAN TOMB FROM PYDNA

After Heuzey



Plan of the Tomb

discouragement. He was advised to withdraw into the mountainous provinces adjacent to Thrace and undertake a guerilla warfare; he sounded the disposition of the Bisaltians, and urged the citizens of Amphipolis to defend their city, in order that he might have access to the sea.¹ On every side he encountered only refusals and reproaches; he learned also that all the towns were opening their gates to the Romans before even they were attacked. Alone and destitute, he asked for peace; and while waiting for the consul's reply he took refuge with his family and his treasures in the inviolable sanctuary of Samothrace.

In his letter Perseus still took the title of King. Paulus Aemilius on this account refused to read it; and a second letter, in which this title was omitted, obtained for reply nothing more than an order to surrender with all his treasures. Perseus now essayed to escape and join Cotys in Thrace; but the fleet of Octavius, the praetor, guarded the island, and a Cretan who had promised to take the King on board his ship disappeared with the money which he had received in advance. Finally, a traitor gave up to the praetor the younger children of Perseus, and the King himself, with his eldest son, surrendered to Octavius. Paulus Aemilius, touched by so great misfortunes, received him kindly,² entertained him at his own table, and recommended him to have confidence in the clemency of the Roman people (168).

Even before the battle of Pydna, Anicius had besieged Gentius in Scodra, his capital, and forced that prince to surrender. Thirty days had sufficed for this conquest, which had not even cost a battle.

While waiting for the arrival of the commissioners of the Senate, Paulus Aemilius made a journey through Greece to visit its chief objects of interest. He went up to Delphi and caused his own statue to be erected on the pedestal destined to receive that of Perseus; he saw the cave of Trophonius, Chalcis, and the Euripus, with



PAVLVS AEMILIVS
AND PERSEVS.³

¹ These facts, reported by Livy (xliv. 45), contradict the story of Perseus' cowardly despair after Pydna.

² Perseus was so little under restraint in the Roman camp, that he was at one time able to go as far as a day's journey from the camp without exciting notice. (Livy, xlv. 28.)

³ Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*. PAVLLVS; Paulus Aemilius receiving Perseus and his children. A trophy. Reverse of a denarius of the Aemilian family.

the curious phenomenon of its tide; also Aulis, the rendezvous of Agamemnon's 1,000 ships; Athens,



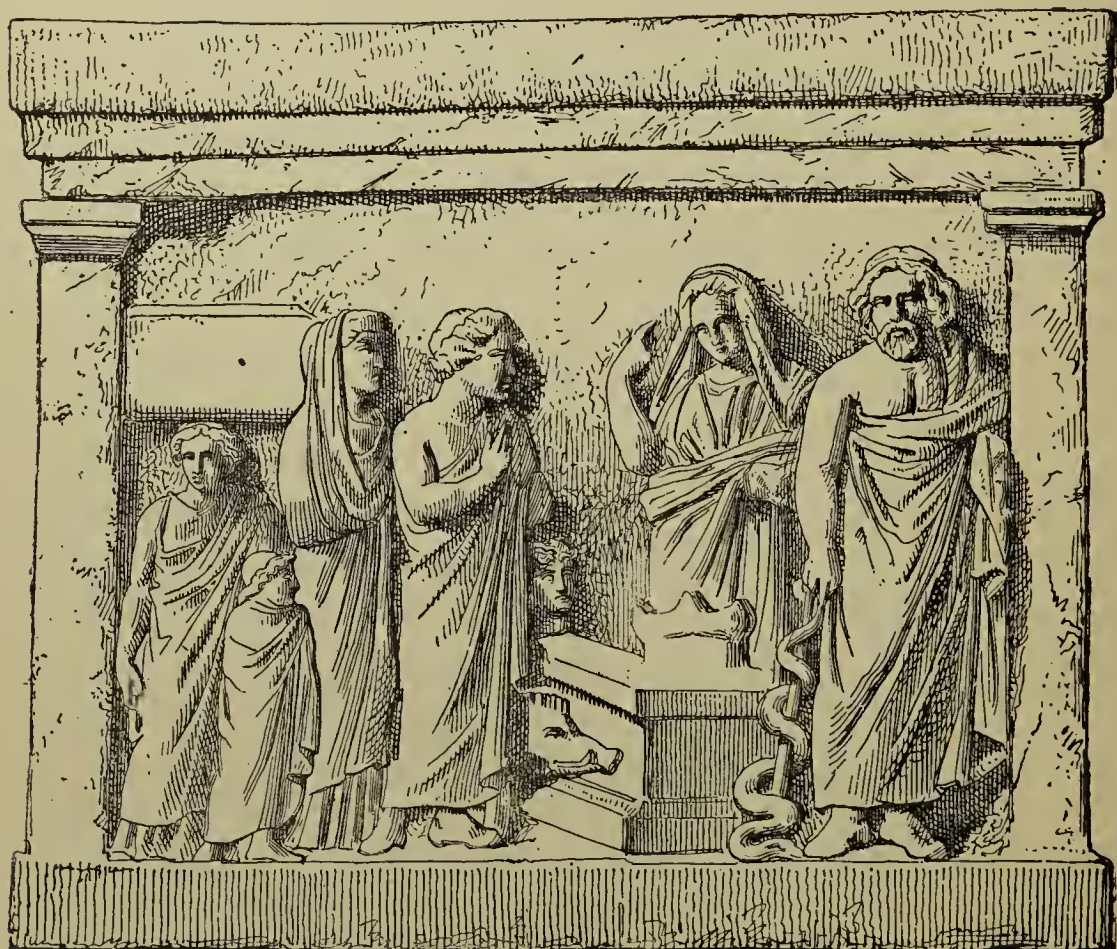
COIN OF EPIDAUROS.¹

where he offered sacrifices to Athene, as he had at Delphi to Apollo; Corinth, still rich with all its



COIN OF SICYON.²

treasures; Sicyon, Argos, Epidaurus and its temple of Aesculapius;



ALTAR OF AESCULAPIUS.³

Megalopolis, the creation of Epaminondas; Sparta and Olympia, everywhere evoking the glorious memories of the past, and ren-

¹ Laurelled head of Zeus. On the reverse, a double letter, EII, as a monogram, in a wreath. Silver coin (triobol) of Epidaurus.

² A chimera and a wreath. On the reverse, an I and a dove flying, in a wreath of laurel. Coin (Aeginetan tetradrachm) of Sicyon.

³ Bas-relief found at Epidaurus, representing the altar of the god, his priests, and the victim about to be immolated. (Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, p. 104.)

dering homage to that Greece which was now so humiliated. At Olympia he believed that he saw Jupiter himself in beholding the statue of Phidias, and sacrificed with as much pomp as he would have done in the Capitol at Rome. It was his wish to conquer the Greeks in magnificence as well as in arms. To furnish out a feast and to conduct games, he said, seldom fell to the lot of him who knew how to conquer. He directed Greek and Roman games to be celebrated at Amphipolis, giving notice of them to the states and



CHALCIS AND EURIPUS.¹

kings of Asia, and specially inviting the chief leaders in Greece. The most skilled wrestlers and performers were gathered from all parts of the world, and many famous horses. Outside the enclosure were displayed the statues and pictures, the tapestry, the vases of

¹ Euripus, at its narrowest point, is about 220 feet across.

gold, silver, bronze, and ivory, and all the curiosities and works of art found in the palace of Perseus. A great quantity of Macedonian lances, being worthless to the conquerors, were gathered into a huge pile, which Paulus Aemilius set on fire, closing the games with this ominous conflagration, — a holocaust announcing to Greece and to the



MACEDONIAN COIN.

world the end of the Macedonian kingdom, as the burning of Persepolis by Alexander, a century and a half earlier, had announced to Asia the destruction of the empire of Cyrus.

Meanwhile the commissioners from the Senate had arrived. Paulus Aemilius, in conjunction with them, determined the fate of Macedon; and having called together at Amphipolis, where his tribunal was surrounded with an immense crowd, ten chief men from each city, he made known to them the will of the Roman people. He spoke in Latin, it being suitable that the conqueror should employ his own language in addressing the conquered; but the praetor Octavius repeated his words in Greek. The Macedonians were to be left free, and should possess the same cities and lands as before, governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates, and the taxes they should pay to Rome were to be but half what they had been accustomed to pay to their own kings. Macedon, however, was to be divided into four districts, and there should be no intermarriage nor liberty to purchase lands or houses outside their respective districts. The districts, bordering on the barbarians might keep armed forces on their frontiers. The third district should supply the Dardanians with salt at a fixed price. The friends and courtiers of Perseus, the generals of his armies, the commanders of his fleets and garrisons, all who had held any employment whatever from him, were to accompany the consul into Italy, together with their children; these persons were all designated by name. Then Paulus Aemilius gave the Macedonians a code of laws wisely adapted [?]

¹ Bust of Diana upon a Macedonian shield. On the reverse, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, and a monogram; a club in a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of the first district of Macedon.

to their new condition; and having completed his task, he set out for Epirus. Anicius meanwhile in Illyria made similar dispositions, separating that country into three districts.

Macedon was by far too rich and important a country to be given up to pillage; only a few places which had hesitated to open their gates after Pydna were abandoned to the soldiery. The consul had sought, moreover, to separate the royal cause in Macedon from that of the country itself; it was his plan to appear to have fought only against Perseus, and to be willing to take only what belonged to the King as spoils of war, in order by this policy to shake all the other thrones which still remained. Macedon and Illyria were therefore spared; but the army complained, and Epirus was given up to them.

The measures adopted by assemblies are often cruel, because of all who concur in the act no one man is personally responsible. The Epirotes had revolted to Perseus, and the Senate, to strike terror among the allies of Rome, determined to treat them as deserters, who were usually executed. Cohorts despatched to their seventy cities¹ received orders on the same day, at the same hour, to give them up to pillage, to destroy their walls, and to carry their inhabitants away into slavery. A hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes were thus reduced in a day from liberty to slavery. The booty was so considerable, that after the gold and silver had been reserved for the public treasury, each foot-soldier received 200 and each trooper 400 denarii; and still the soldiery were not content. In their avidity, stimulated by the recollection of the enormous plunder obtained by their predecessors in Sicily, in Africa, and in Asia, they could not forgive their general for having reserved the spoils of Perseus. Paulus Aemilius had plundered for the benefit of the state; they could not consent that any one should plunder except in their interest. And so when he sailed up the Tiber in the King's galley of great size, decorated with the brazen shields of the phalanx, and solicited a triumph, his own soldiers strove to prevent his obtaining the honor.

We are at an epoch when Roman manners were beginning

¹ Almost all in the country of the Molossians. (Polybius, xxx. 15.) Livy, in representing the Molossians as fighting against Perseus (see p. 161, note 2), must have confused them with another Epirote tribe.

to undergo that transformation which later we shall study more fully, — when military chiefs plundered the provinces; when the soldiers going to war, no longer through patriotic devotion, but in the hope of gain, invoked curses upon those who forced them to undergo the discipline and practise the disinterestedness of a nobler period. The occurrence is therefore to be regarded as a symptom of an evil whose origin it is important to observe, since after increasing during a century, it was to result in those civil wars out of which emerged the Empire.

The Senate had decreed to Paulus Aemilius the honor of a triumph; but it was necessary that the people should, by a special order, present to the consul his *imperium* for the day, so that he should be allowed to enter the city in his war dress, and lead his army by the Via Sacra to the Capitol.

“He would not give us money,” the soldiers said, “and we will not give him honor;” and when the tribune of the commons proposed the order, a personal enemy of Paulus Aemilius, Servius Galba, a tribune of the second legion, who had incited the soldiers to manifest their ill-feeling against the general, demanded that the subject should be put off until the morrow, so that he might have an entire day in which to unfold his reasons for opposition. Being required to speak at once, he made an address four hours in length, occupying the time until night, when it became necessary to adjourn the assembly. On the morrow the soldiers crowded the Capitol, and the tribes first called voted in the negative. To refuse the triumph to him who had made Rome the heir of Alexander, was one of those unworthy actions to which the populace is prone when it abandons itself to its evil instincts. The principal men ran in amongst the crowd, crying out that the consul was in danger of being sacrificed to the licentiousness and avarice of his soldiery, that the soldiers were being raised into the place of masters over their generals; and a former consul and master of the horse, Marcus Servilius, implored the tribunes to put off the voting, and give him first an opportunity of speaking to the assembly. Livy has composed for him an indignant harangue suited to the occasion. Finally the thirty-five tribes returned to vote, and the triumph was decreed with unanimity. While we congratulate them on doing this tardy act of justice, we keep in

mind this two-fold symptom, — the increasing cupidity of the soldier, which begins to indicate his character under the Empire ; and the facility with which the people support the suggestions of mean envy against one of the best public servants Rome ever had.



DETAILS OF THE BORGHESSE VASE.

The triumph, which the whole city witnessed, arrayed in white togas, was a solemnity which lasted three days. Scaffolds were erected in the Forum and in the circuses, and in all other parts



DETAILS OF THE BORGHESSE VASE.

of the city whence the show could best be seen. All the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes ; and the ways through which the procession should pass were cleared and kept open by numerous officers. On the first day, which was scarcely long enough for the sight, the pictures and statues and colossal images

taken from the enemy, loaded upon two hundred and fifty chariots, were borne through the streets. On the second day came a long train of wagons, with the finest and richest armor of the Macedo-



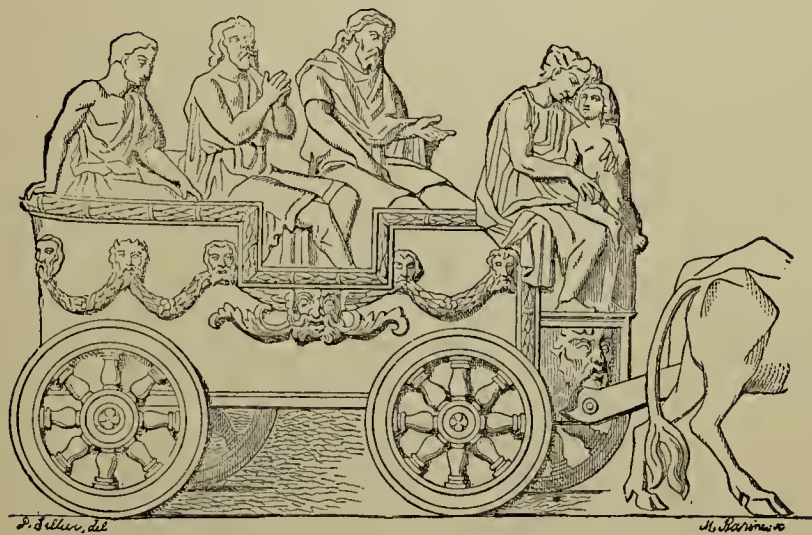
BORGHESE VASE.¹

nians, both of brass and steel, all newly polished and glittering, heaped together in studied confusion, and so loosely fastened, that the weapons clashed against one another with a martial sound as the vehicles moved along. Then followed three thousand men, who carried seven hundred and fifty great silver vases filled with coined

¹ The famous marble vase or *crater* was an ornament in the "gardens of Sallust," near the site of which it was found. Museum of the Louvre, No. 711 of the Clarac Catalogue.

silver, and many more carrying silver *cratera* of various kinds, remarkable for their size, and beauty of workmanship.

On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters sounding a charge, as if for battle; then followed a hundred and twenty oxen, their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with garlands and ribbons, led to the sacrifice by young men in festal dress: these were accompanied by boys with gold and silver basins for libation; and after them came men carrying the coined gold, also in great silver vases, to the number of seventy-seven. Then was borne the consecrated vase of ten talents' weight, incrustated



CAR BEARING PRISONERS.¹

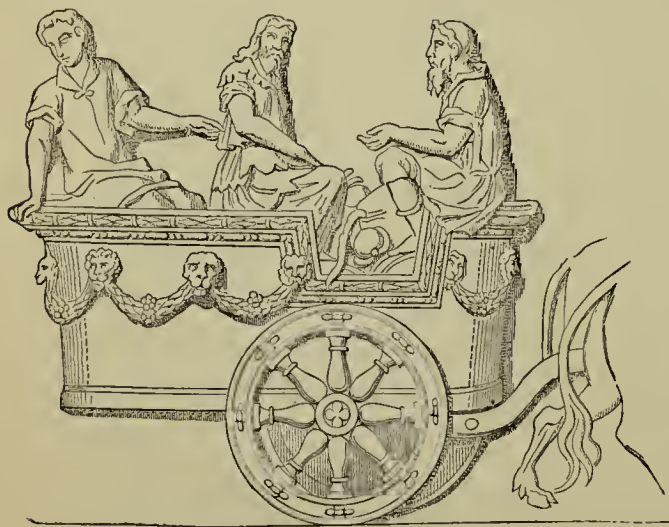
with gems, which Paulus Aemilius had caused to be made, and the cups of Antigonus and Seleucus, and the Thericlean goblets, and all the gold plate used at the table of Perseus; after these came the King's own chariot, with his arms and diadem. Then, after a little space, were led the children of Perseus, — two sons and a daughter, — as yet too young to understand their misfortunes, with a train of attendants and masters and teachers, weeping, and stretching out their hands in supplication to the crowd, and striving to teach the children also to beg for compassion.

After his children came Perseus, clad in black, walking with a bewildered air, as one stunned by the greatness of his calamity. He was accompanied by a great crowd of his friends and attendants,

¹ This car is not an antique, but was designed by Ginzrot (*Wagen und Fahrwerke*, pl. xx.) from details furnished by the columns of Trajan and of Antoninus.

who wept and lamented. The King had besought the consul to spare him this last ignominy of the triumph; but the Roman had coldly replied that the matter had always been, and still was, in the power of Perseus himself—as if unable to understand that any one should not prefer suicide to such disgrace.

After the Macedonian spoils, were carried the four hundred gold wreaths which the cities of Greece and Asia had presented to Paulus Aemilius; and then came the conqueror himself, seated in



ANOTHER CAR BEARING CAPTIVES.¹

a chariot magnificently adorned,—“a man,” says Plutarch, “well worthy to be looked at, even without the ensigns of power,”—dressed in a robe of purple and gold, and carrying a branch of laurel in his right hand. Behind him followed the crowded ranks of his cohorts, carrying laurel-boughs, and singing as they marched. But of

the two young sons who should have been seated at his side, one had just died, and the other was at the point of death. In the midst of his affliction, Paulus Aemilius consoled himself by the thought that upon him was laid the expiation of the public prosperity, and that Fortune, having wreaked her jealousy in this way, would henceforth be constant and harmless to Rome.² The great general lived some years longer, was censor in the year 160, and died while holding that office.

After a short imprisonment in Rome, Perseus was removed to the city of Alba, in the country of the Marsi; and such silence closes around the King, who was once the hope of the world, that our authorities do not agree whether he lived in his new prison two years or five, whether he died by his own hand or under the ill-treatment of his gaolers. Philip, his eldest son, survived him but a few years; the younger, to gain a livelihood, is said to have learned the trade

¹ From Montfaucon.

² Plut., *Aemil. Paul.*

of a turner ; and some years later this heir of Alexander held a petty office connected with the courts.

Even more sad was the destiny of the famous people who had conquered Greece and Asia. Never again did Macedon rise to the rank of a nation ; and up to our time, a period of twenty centuries, history has never again recognized her name.

¹ On the obverse, an eye ; on the reverse, a hollow square. Silver coin of Lesbos, the smallest antique coin known.



LESBIAN COIN.¹

CHAPTER XXXI.

REDUCTION OF MACEDON TO A PROVINCE; SUBMISSION OF GREECE.

I. ALARM OF THE PRINCES AND STATES AFTER PYDNA.

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, the Roman people had taken nothing for themselves save the immense sum poured into the treasury by Paulus Aemilius and the tributes imposed upon Macedon, which gave the Senate opportunity to remit the former *tributum*, or war-tax. The abolition of this tax, the only one that the citizens had to pay, shows plainly that Rome proposed to live at the expense of her subjects.¹ This principle of government had for one of its results the *frumentationes*, or distributions of corn at a low price, as the soldiers' share in the spoils gave rise to the *donativa*, — two institutions of which the Empire made a bad use, which were, however, of republican origin, and cannot be properly understood if they are regarded solely as means of corruption employed towards the people and the army.

Rome had no need of increasing her dominion by the addition of new territories. Macedon seemed the last bulwark of the world's liberty. Now that this rampart had fallen, all rushed with indescribable alarm to meet the slavery which was their doom. Prusias, king of Bithynia, had remained neutral; he now hastened into Italy and presented himself before the Senate wearing a freedman's cap and having his head shaved, in token that he was a freed slave of the Roman people. Upon entering the senate-house he kissed the threshold of the door, crying, "Hail, tutelar deities!"²

¹ The other tax, or rather the duty levied on the manumission of slaves, *vicesima manumissionum*, served to constitute a reserve fund for cases of peril. The exemption from tribute lasted 125 years, — up to the time of the wars of Octavius and Antony.

² This is the story told by Polybius and by Appian (*Mithr.*, 2); that of Livy is less creditable to Prusias; but this year Polybius was in Rome.

Masinissa himself trembled; he sent word to the Senate by his son that two things had grieved him, — one, that the Senate had sent by their ambassadors a request, instead of an order, for the supply of necessaries for the army; the other, that they had sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that he owed the Roman people his crown, and he contented himself with the management of it, acknowledging the sovereignty of the donors.¹ He also asked permission to come to Rome, that he might offer a sacrifice in the Capitol. The Senate, however, forbade him to leave Africa.

Other kings wished to come to Rome, but a decree forbade them to cross the sea; and when Eumenes presented himself at Brundisium, a quaestor ordered him to leave Italy at once. This incident was near costing him his crown, for as soon as his allies became aware that he was threatened with the displeasure of Rome, they at once abandoned him, in the midst of a war which he was carrying on with the Galatians. Meantime his brother Attalus was received with honor. The Senate offered him half of the estates of Eumenes; but he prudently refused, not wishing to dismember his own inheritance. This means of weakening the Pergamean kingdom having failed, the Senate permitted the Galatians to make war upon Eumenes, and later excited Prusias against him, and repeated towards the King of Pergamus the outrage practised upon Philip, of sending commissioners to receive complaints against the King and hear his vindication.³

The King of Syria, Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), had conquered a part of Egypt, and besieged Alexandria. A Roman deputy, Popillius, ordered him to return into his own territory. Antiochus required some days to deliberate; but Popillius drew a circle on the sand around the spot where the King stood, and said abruptly: "Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to the Senate."

ANTIOCHUS IV.²PTOLEMY VI.
(PHILOMETOR).⁴¹ Livy, xlv. 13.² Tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.³ Polybius, xxxi. 6.⁴ Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,057 of the catalogue.

Upon this, the King, conquered by one man's firmness, agreed to withdraw his armies.

Egypt was saved; and to retain the country under the guardianship of the Senate, Popillius divided the kingdom between Philometor and Physcon; and ambassadors from all these kings at once set off for Rome to protest to the Senate their reverence and their humility. The contemplation of so much baseness makes us involuntarily side with Rome, in spite of her domineering and perfidious policy.

The merchants of Rhodes, molested in their commerce by the war, had undertaken to impose their mediation. They now regretted this imprudent step decreed by their popular assembly. They made haste to murder the partisans of Perseus and to send rich presents to Rome. The Senate did not declare war upon them, but Lycia and Caria, which gave them annually 120 talents, were taken from them. The prohibition of their export of salt into Macedon, and of their import of timber from that



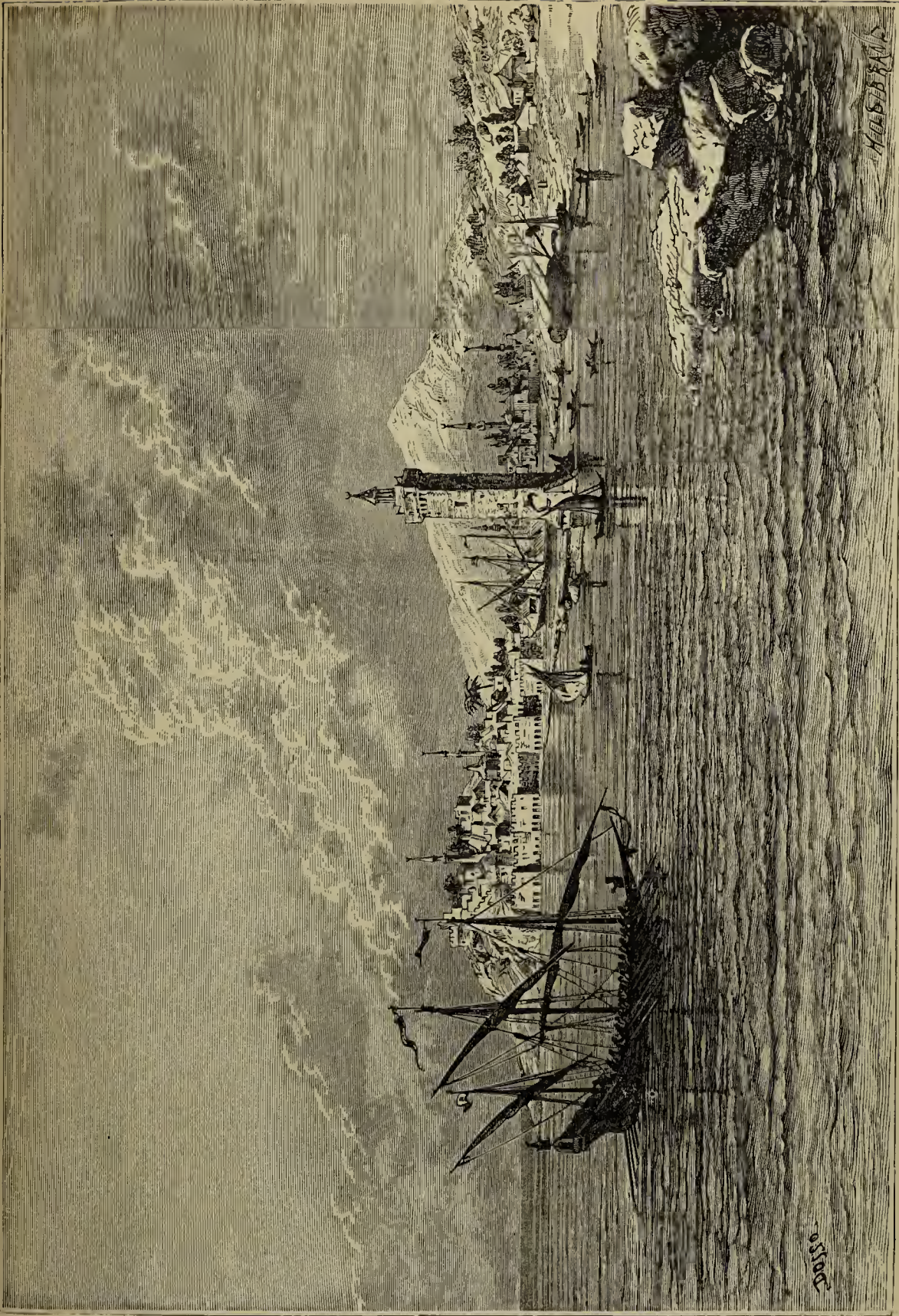
RHODIAN COIN.¹

country, and still further, the establishment of a free port at Delos, ruined their marine; in a few years the product of their customs duties fell off from 1,000,000 to 150,000 drachmae. The city, lately so rich and proud, was humbled; in 164 she solicited and obtained that title of ally which so rapidly reduced those bearing it to the position of subjects. Ariarathus of Cappadocia, in ascending the throne, also asked for this dangerous alliance, and in solemn sacrifices gave thanks to the gods that he had obtained it. His servility did not prevent the Senate from supporting a usurper against him, and assigning to this person half of Cappadocia (159).

In the Island of Lesbos,² Antissa was razed to the ground for having furnished some few supplies to the fleet of Perseus. In Asia the cities made haste to banish or inflict punishment upon the former partisans of the King. For some months the greatest

¹ Head of the Sun. On the reverse, ΠΟΔΙΟΝ ΕΥΡΩ, and a rose, the device of the Rhodians. Didrachme of Rhodes.

² The view of Lesbos (next page) is from a sketch by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. (*Bibliothèque nationale.*)



VIEW OF MITYLENE (CAPITAL OF LESBOS).

alarm weighed upon Greece.¹ All the evil instincts fermenting in these little cities, so long without moral or legal restraints, had free scope, sheltered by the name of Rome. For revenge upon an enemy or a rival it was only needful to say that he had sold himself to the Macedonian. It was enough for a man to be suspected of silent wishes in favor of Perseus to have him dragged before a pitiless tribunal. The Aetolian Lyciscos denounced 500 of his fellow-countrymen, the entire senate of Aetolia, and caused them to be led to execution, Rome lending only the sword of her soldiers for the butchery. Did these judicial massacres weary the victors? We may regard a desire to put an end to them as the motive which led to the transportation of all suspected persons into various cities of Italy. Whoever of importance yet remained in Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, and Boeotia followed Paulus Aemilius to Rome; 1,000 Achaeans designated by Calliocrates were deported thither. One single prince received with astonishment a benefit at the hands of Rome; it was Cotys, a petty Thracian prince, who had valiantly supported Perseus. The Senate sent back to him his son, who had chanced to be among the prisoners. But Thrace lay on the high road from Europe into Asia, and it was well to have allies there.³



COIN OF THE AETOLIAN
LEAGUE.²

Macedon being effaced from the list of nations, Epirus being depopulated, and Aetolia ruined, there remained in Greece nothing but the Achaean League, also destined to perish. Philopoemen himself had not had any assured belief in its durability. When the Romans, says Polybius, demanded things conformable to laws and treaties, he instantly executed their orders; when their requirements were unjust, he advised remonstrances and entreaties to be made; then, if they still remained inflexible, the gods should be called upon to witness this infraction of treaties; and, finally, the Roman will should be obeyed. "I know," he said, "that

¹ To appreciate this terror, see the story of the accused Rhodian, Polyaratus, who vainly sought asylum in many Asiatic cities. (Polybius, xxx. 9.)

² Head coiffed with the *petasus*, cap peculiar to the north of Greece. The young man is sometimes called Meleager; the wild boar on the reverse would in that case be the boar of Calydon. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.* p. 128.

³ Livy, xlv. 43.

a time will come when we shall all be the subjects of Rome;¹ but I seek to postpone this time. Aristaenus, on the contrary, invokes its coming; for he sees its inevitable necessity, and would rather



COIN OF EPIRUS.³

it came to-day than to-morrow."

This policy of Aristaenus, which Polybius dares to call prudent.² Callicrates followed, but solely in the interest of his own ambition and with an odious cynicism in his servility. "The fault is

yours, Conscript Fathers," he dared to say in the Senate, "if the Greeks are not docile to your will. In all republics there are two parties, one who maintain that laws and treaties should be observed, the other who wish to have every other consideration give way to the desire of pleasing you; the opinion of the former is agreeable to the multitude: your partisans, therefore, are despised. But take to heart their interests, and soon all the chiefs of the republics, and with them the people, shall be on your side." The Senate replied that it was to be desired that the magistrates of all the cities should be like Callicrates; and, as if to justify his words, the Achaeans elected him strategus on his return from Rome.

This occurred some years before the war with Perseus. That prince restored hope to the partisans of Hellenic independence; the Achaeans, therefore, proposed at first to maintain a strict neutrality; but when Marcius had forced the defiles of Olympus, Polybius made haste to offer to him the assistance of an Achaean army.⁴ It was too late; the Romans preferred to conquer unassisted, that

¹ Livy also represents Lycortas saying to Appius: "I know that we are here as slaves who are seeking to justify themselves in presence of their masters."

² Book xxv. 8. However, Polybius and his father, Lycortas, were the leaders of the anti-Roman party. During the war against Perseus they narrowly escaped being accused before the commissioners, and after the battle of Pydna, Polybius was carried off into Italy. But seeing Greece so feeble and divided, covered with blood and ruins for two centuries, and deprived of real liberty, Polybius resigned himself to see her tranquil and prosperous [?] under that Roman rule which left to the cities so much interior liberty. We must, after all, respect the good sense and impartiality of the friend of Philopocmen.

³ Laurelled head of Jupiter joined to a diademed and veiled bust of Juno; behind, two monograms. On the reverse, AHEIPOTAN, and an enraged bull in a wreath of oak-leaves. Silver coin of Epirus.

⁴ Polybius, xxviii. 10, *seq.*

they might not be troubled with the necessity of recompensing their allies. Polybius himself was one of the thousand Achaeans detained in Italy, and he would have been interned in some obscure town far from his books and from the great affairs he loved so well to study, had not the two sons of Paulus Aemilius become responsible for him to the praetor.

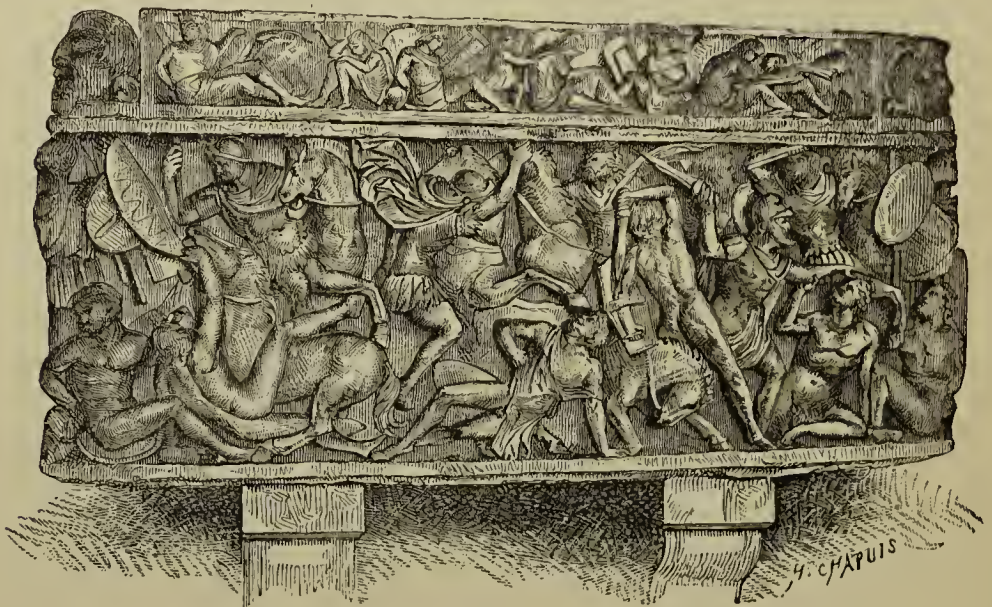
II. REDUCTION OF MACEDON INTO A PROVINCE (146).

DURING the seventeen years that the Achaean exiles were detained in Italy, upon which subject the Senate never would give any explanation, Callicrates remained at the head of the government of his country. He did much better for the interests of Rome than a pro-consul could have done. To leave to conquered countries, or to those submitting to the Roman influence, their national chiefs, to govern through native rulers, as the English do in India, was one of the most successful maxims of Roman policy. Content with this seeming independence, with these *municipal liberties* which accord so well with political despotism, the states dropped quietly into the condition of subjects, and the Senate found them broken in when Rome desired to tighten the bridle and apply the spur. Thus Greece, without any one's being aware of it, was on the way to become, like so many Italian cities, a Roman possession, when, at the death of Callicrates, Polybius, supported by Scipio Aemilianus, solicited on behalf of himself and the other exiles to be sent home to Achaia. There were now but 300 left. The Senate hesitated. Cato was indignant at prolonged deliberation upon such a trifle; contempt gave him humanity. "It is only a question," he said, "whether a few decrepit Greeks shall be interred by our gravediggers or by those of their own country." They were allowed to depart (150).¹ Cato was right; and Greece also, after one last struggle, was about to descend into the tomb, there to remain for twenty centuries.

¹ Polybius wished to ask from the Senate restoration to all the offices and honors they had enjoyed before their exile. Cato, whom he sounded on this subject, replied: "It seems to me, Polybius, that you do not follow the example of Ulysses; for you, having made your escape from the cave of the Cyclops, now propose to return thither to seek the hat and belt you left behind you." (Plutarch, *Cato*, ix.)

In the case of some of these exiles, age had neither chilled their ardor nor calmed their resentment. Diaeus, Critolaus, and Damocritus returned to their country embittered and turbulent, and by their imprudence precipitated her ruin.

Circumstances, it is true, appeared to them favorable. Andruscus, an adventurer, who gave himself out to be a natural son of Perseus, had just laid claim to the paternal inheritance (152). Repulsed by the Macedonians after his first attempt, he had taken refuge with Demetrius, king of Syria, who had given him up to the Romans. The latter, contrary to their habit, had guarded him



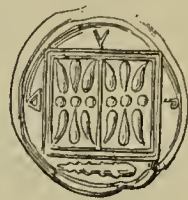
SARCOPHAGUS REPRESENTING A COMBAT.¹

negligently. He escaped, recruited an army in Thrace, and now, personating Philip, that son of Perseus who died in the country of the Marsians, he incited revolt in Macedon, and occupied a portion of Thessaly. Scipio Nasica expelled him from this province (149); but he returned thither, defeated and killed the praetor Juventius, and made an alliance with Carthage, at this time beginning her third war against the Romans. The affair was becoming serious. Rome was at this time fighting in Spain and in Africa; there was reason to apprehend that the movement would extend itself from point to point throughout all Greece and into Asia. A consular

¹ Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.

army was intrusted to Metellus, who gained a second victory at Pydna, and carried Andriscus in chains to Rome (148).

A year had sufficed to terminate this not very formidable war, which a second impostor vainly endeavored to renew a few years later (142). The Senate, believing the states, conquered fifty years before and since then inwrapped in a web of intrigues, to be now ripe for servitude, reduced Macedon to a province (146).



COIN OF
DYRRACHIUM.¹

The new province extended from Thrace to the Adriatic, where the two flourishing cities Apollonia and Dyrrachium, served it as seaports, and as points of connection with Italy. Its tax remained as it had been originally fixed, 100 talents, half of what Macedon had paid to her kings, and collected by her own fiscal agents; her cities preserved their municipal liberties, and in place of the civil and foreign wars which had so long devastated her, she was now to enjoy, for four centuries, a peace and prosperity² disturbed only at remote intervals by the exactions of some Roman pro-consul.

III. BATTLE OF LEUCOPETRA; DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH (146).

THE army of Metellus Macedonicus was still encamped in the scene of their conquest, when one of the Achaean exiles, Diaeus, returning to the Peloponnesus, was elected strategus. During his term of office, the eternal quarrel between Sparta and the League, which had been for some time smouldering, broke out afresh, by reason of the secret intrigues of Rome; Sparta again sought to break away from the League. Immediately the

¹ A club; above it the plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs, already represented on the reverse of a coin of Coreyra (Vol. I. p. 591), and the first three letters of the city's name, ΔΥΡ. Reverse of a tetradrachm (Corinthian currency) of Dyrrachium; the obverse of the coin represents a cow suckling her calf.

² [This so-called prosperity was, indeed, less intolerable than the separation into isolated departments, within which all commerce and industry ceased, and where the resulting poverty was such as to cause constant and irrepressible crime. But the Roman speculators, who had, of course, laid hold of the country during its piecemeal existence, still held their sway in the new province; and so this, like all other outlying countries under Roman sway, was gradually plundered out, till the population became sparse, and most of the land not worth tilling. — *Ed.*]

Achaean took up arms; but the Roman commissioners arrived, bringing a decree of the Senate separating Sparta, Argos, and Orchomenus from the League: the two former as of Doric race, the latter as being of Trojan origin,—all three, consequently, foreign by blood to the rest of the confederation. Upon the reading of this decree, Diaeus incited the people of Corinth to an outbreak;



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE AT CORINTH.¹

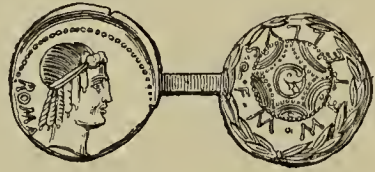
the Spartans who happened to be in the city were massacred, and the Roman deputies escaped only by precipitate flight. This people, who for forty years had trembled before Rome, now seemed to derive a certain courage from the very excess of the humiliation laid upon them. They involved with themselves Chalcis and the Boeotians, and when Metellus came down from Macedon with his legions, the confederates advanced to meet him as far as Scarpheia in Locris (146). In the battle which ensued, the Achaean force

¹ Chenavard, *Voyage en Grèce*, pl. xxix.



CORINTHIAN VASES FOUND AT CÆRE

was cut to pieces; but, arming even to the slaves, Diaeus brought together a second army of 14,000 men, and, posted at Leucopetra, at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth, he awaited the new consul, Mummius. Upon the neighboring heights the women and children had gathered to see their husbands and fathers conquer or die. They perished; Corinth was taken, pillaged,¹ given up to the flames; Thebes and Chalcis were razed to the ground, and the territory of these three cities united to the public domain of the Roman people.

COIN OF METELLUS.²

The Achaean and Boeotian leagues were dissolved; all the cities which had shared in the strife were dismantled and disarmed, and were subjected to tribute and to that oligarchical government which was easier for the Senate to hold in subjection than popular assemblies.³ Delphi and Olympia, as sacred territory, kept their privileges; but the credit of those divinities who could no longer save their worshippers was on the wane, and grass soon grew in their courts.

COIN OF ELIS.⁴

Yet another people struck from the list of nations! The Greeks, in fact, had reached the end of their political existence, and had not even the right to complain of their fate. It is a hard thing to say, and especially for a Frenchman to say it now; but those who are in the wrong — not that their conquerors are always in the right — are most frequently those who are conquered. If we look back at the picture hitherto drawn of Greece, before the Romans had set foot in the country, we shall see that this people had with their own hands made their grave. He who cannot govern must be governed; he who has no foresight must be exposed to all

¹ Cf. Strabo, viii. 381; Livy, *Epit.* 52; of Mummius we shall hear again.

² Diademed head of Apollo, and the legend ROMA. On the reverse, M. METELLUS Q. F., around a Macedonian buckler, in the centre of which is an elephant's head, the whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. Denarius of the Caecilian family. (Cohen, *Monn. cons.*)

³ Paus., vii. 16.

⁴ Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, F. A. An eagle standing; before him, a serpent; behind, a thunderbolt; below, H. Didrachm of Elis.

accidents: this is the universal law. Anarchy justly reduces to the condition of slaves those whom, in better days, patriotism and discipline had made strong and famous.

In fact, this degenerate race did not merit the prudence that Rome exhibited in bringing them insensibly under her sway. As if forever mindful of the old deeds of Greece, forever dreading lest, if matters were in the least precipitated, some gallant desperation might renew the laurels of Marathon and Plataea, the Senate had been a half century in assuming the tone and attitude of mastery. Upon the conclusion of the Illyrian war, it had been scrupulously explained to the Greeks that for the purpose of delivering them from these pirates the legions had come across the Adriatic; and in the struggle with Macedon, the independence of Greece had been put forward as a motive for the war. After the battle of Cynoscephalae, Flamininus had quietly transformed into a protectorate this friendship of the earlier time; and it was not until every power had been broken down in Macedon, in Asia, and in Africa, that Mummius converted this protectorate into a domination. Even then, Greece was not reduced to a province.¹ Its name was still imposing. Moreover, the most famous cities, notably Athens and Sparta, had not been concerned in this struggle brought on by the Achaeans, and many of the latter had been but lukewarm in the strife. "If we had not been quickly ruined," they said on all sides, "we could not have been saved."² And once the executions of the earlier days were completed, and the authors and accomplices of the war punished in a way to destroy all desire to renew it, the Greeks were treated as conquered enemies, whose friendship Rome was anxious to secure. They lost their independence, it is true, but they preserved the outward forms of it, their laws, their own magistrates, their elections, even their leagues, which after a few years the Senate suffered them to renew. There was not a Roman garrison in any city, there was no pro-consul in the land. Only, far off in Macedon, the Roman officer listened to all sounds, kept watch upon every movement, ready to descend upon Hellas with

¹ The province of Achaia was not formed till after the battle of Aetium. Cf. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenl.* i. 284, n. 2.

² Polybius, xl. 5, 12.

his cohorts, and to revive, if need were, the terror left in all men's hearts by the destruction of Corinth. In reality, Rome took from the Greeks nothing save the right to devastate their country by a perpetual succession of intestine wars.

Metellus had carried off from Pella twenty-five bronze statues which Alexander had ordered from Lysippus in memory of his "companions" who fell at the battle of the Granicus. These the consul placed in front of the two temples which he built to Jupiter and Juno, the first marble buildings ever erected in Rome. After these architectural expenditures, there was left of the spoils, which he had brought home to Rome, enough money to build a superb portico.

Mummius was a Roman of the primitive kind; he had preserved all the early rusticity of tastes and manners, and had no appreciation of Greek elegance. In accordance with the usual custom, much more than from any love for the masterpieces of art, he carried away from Corinth the statues and vases,¹ pictures and carvings which had escaped the flames, or which he had not been able to sell to the King of Pergamus,² and transported them to Rome, where they were placed in temples and public squares. For himself he kept nothing, and remained poor, so that the state was obliged to furnish dowries for his daughters. Never did he suspect that he had committed a crime in destroying the most beautiful city in Greece, after an engagement without danger or glory. He always believed himself to have achieved a memorable exploit; and in his consular inscription, which still exists, these words are to be read, as the chief praise of his

¹ The bronze of Corinth was famous, but not a piece of it now exists. We have, however, a great number of painted vases from that city, which were celebrated throughout the Greek world. It is possible some of these were carried away by Mummius, for they were greatly in demand in Italy. We give below an explanatory note, kindly furnished by M. Heuzey, in respect to the chromo-lithograph.

"These antique Greek vases, of which the Louvre possesses a remarkable series, from the Campana Collection, are called Corinthian, because they bear legends in the old local alphabet of Corinth. They have been found at Corinth, but a much larger number in the tombs at Caere, in Etruria. They bear important testimony to the relations existing at an early period between Etruria and Corinth and its colonies. The larger vase is a *hydria*, the painting representing Achilles exposed upon his bier, and lamented by the Nereids. The smaller is an amphora, representing Ismene slain by Tydeus at an assignation with the handsome Periclymenos."

² This prince offered 600,000 sesterces for a single picture by Aristides of Thebes. (Strabo, viii. 381; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 8.)

consulate: *deleta Corintho*. This barbarian did well to erect, after his triumph, a temple to Hercules the conqueror, god of strength.

As for the authors of the Achæan war, one, Critolaus, had disappeared at Scarpheia; the other, Diaeus, had sought from his own hand the death which eluded him on the battle-field. From Leucopetra he had fled to Megalopolis, where he had slain his wife and children, set fire to his house, and poisoned himself. In stirring up a hopeless strife, these men had called down many woes upon their country; but they perished with her and for her. Self-devotion makes imprudence pardonable; and it was better to perish, as Greece did, on a battle-field, than to become extinct, like Etruria, in a lethargic sleep. For nations as well as individuals, it is a duty to die nobly. The Achæans, left standing alone among the ruined Greek nations, owed this last sacrifice to the old glory of Hellas.

¹ Reverse of a bronze coin of Marcus Aurelius. The Acropolis of Corinth on the summit of a rock. The letters C L I COR give the name of the new Corinth, a colony established by Caesar, *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*. But the coin itself shows by the exuberance and disorder [absurdity] of the details how much the art of the second century A. D. had degenerated.



THE ACROCORINTHOS.¹

CHAPTER XXXII.

REDUCTION OF CARTHAGINIAN AFRICA INTO A PROVINCE.

I. CARTHAGE, MASINISSA, AND ROME.

THE middle of the second century B. C. brought the fatal hour to three of the greatest nations of antiquity: in the year 148 Macedon fell; in 146 Greece gave up her sword, and with it her independence; at the close of the same year Carthage became a heap of ruins. Two other nations of less importance gave way a few years later: in 132 the liberty of Spain was destroyed at Numantia, and almost immediately after, the kingdom of Pergamus collapsed. Within a period of sixteen years, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthaginian Africa, and Spain became peaceful provinces of the new empire.

Since the battle of Zama, the existence of Carthage had been but a protracted death-struggle.¹ Hampered by the prohibition not to make war without the consent of the Senate, she could not repulse the attacks of the rapacious Masinissa. "The Carthaginians are but strangers in Africa," said the Numidian, "who have ravished from our fathers the territory which they possess. What they bought was as much land as could be surrounded with a bull's hide cut into strips. All beyond this that they possess is the fruit of injustice and violence." And on every opportunity he plundered them of a province. As early as the year 199 he began; in 193 he deprived them of the rich territory of Emporiae,



NUMIDIAN
KING OR
PRINCE.²

¹ For the story of this war we have little more than the *Libyca* of Appian, some scattered fragments of Polybius, and the abbreviators. But it is probable that Appian borrows his account from Polybius, who was an eye-witness.

² Intaglio (clouded agate) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,064 of the catalogue.

which opened to them the road into the interior of Africa. Eleven years later there were fresh encroachments. To these acts of violence Carthage opposed only complaints, which she sent to Rome. But the Senate, sure of Masinissa's fidelity, left him in possession of the stolen territory. Encouraged by this favor, the King invaded, in 174, the province of Tysca, and took seventy towns. "If we cannot defend ourselves," the Carthaginian deputies said to the Senate, "at least fix at once how much of our territory is to be taken from us." It was on the eve of the war against Perseus; the Senate appeared to be indignant, promised justice and arbitration,¹ but suffered the affair to drag on until the victory of Pydna had rendered the iniquity safe, when they despatched Cato and some commissioners with him into Africa. Carthage refused to submit to a tribunal already decided against her, and Masinissa remained possessor of the disputed territory. But Cato had found with surprise and displeasure that Carthage was rich, populous, and flourishing. On his return home the malevolent old Roman dropped on the floor of the senate-house figs which he had brought hidden under his toga; on the senators expressing surprise at the fineness of the fruit, "The land that bears them is but three days' journey from Rome," said Cato. And from that time, whenever he spoke in the Senate, though the subject in debate bore no relation to Carthage, he always took occasion to add, "Also, I am of opinion that Carthage should be destroyed," — *delenda est Carthago*.

The Scipios advocated a more noble policy. It did not displease those, who, after the battle of Zama, had not cared to demand the extradition of Hannibal, to suffer the greatest commercial city of the world to subsist as an ornament to their new empire.

Carthage might be useful, and she could no longer be dangerous, since all the countries whence she had been accustomed to draw her mercenaries were closed against her. It is said, further, that the Scipios feared for their country the intoxication of universal success; that they apprehended a failure in discipline and integrity amidst too great wealth and security; that they thought

¹ The Senate sometimes manifested a certain consideration towards Carthage; in 187 Minucius Myrtilus and M. Manlius, accused of having struck the Carthaginian ambassadors, were given up by the heralds into the hands of these envoys and sent to Carthage. (Livy, xxxviii. 42.)

it well for the Romans to have always a peril to fear, that thus they might be kept strong and united. This is more philosophic, but much less Roman. Cato obtained his object; and, in spite of the docility of Carthage and her eagerness to vie with Masinissa in liberality towards Rome, her ruin was determined.¹

This unhappy city was still torn by three factions, — the partisans of Rome, those of Masinissa, and the patriotic party. The latter in 152 drove out the partisans of the King, who, alleging an attempt upon the life of his two sons, seized upon Oroscopa, an important town. This time the Carthaginians despatched 50,000 men against Masinissa. Scipio Aemilianus was at the moment in Africa; he followed the two armies, and from the top of a hill, as a disinterested spectator, saw 100,000 barbarians destroy each other. This sanguinary contest was better than a combat of gladiators; the Roman confessed that he had tasted a pleasure worthy of the gods.² Masinissa, now eighty-eight years of age, riding a fleet horse bare-back, once more fought as the bravest of soldiers. The Carthaginian army was destroyed (151).

II. THIRD PUNIC WAR (149–146).

THE Romans promptly entered the lists, not to leave so rich a prey to the conqueror. It was, moreover, known at Rome that the Carthaginians had encouraged a revolt of the Lusitanians in Spain, and the attempt of Andriscus in Macedon. In vain did Carthage proscribe the author of the war and despatch embassies to Rome. “You must give satisfaction to the Roman people,” was the answer of the Conscrip Fathers; and when the deputies begged to be told what satisfaction would be deemed sufficient, “You ought to know,” was the only reply vouchsafed them (149).

Utica, seeing Carthage thus menaced, gave itself up to the

¹ [It was, of course, the commercial monopolists, and not old Cato and his figs, who destroyed Carthage. These horse-leeches of the world could not bear the modest rivalry of either Corinth or Carthage. — *Ed.*]

² Appian, *Lib.*, 69–75. In the *Epitome* of Livy it is said that the deputies of the Senate found at Carthage a great quantity of materials collected for ship-building; also that they escaped from the violence of the people only by speedy flight.

Romans, thus furnishing them with a port and fortress but three leagues away from Carthage itself. The two consuls, Censorinus and Manilius, at once set out with a large fleet and 80,000 legionaries. Ambassadors from Carthage were again sent to Rome. "The Carthaginians," they said, "place themselves at the discretion of the Roman people." The promise was given them that their laws, their liberty, and their territory should be left intact, but they were required to send to Lilybaeum 300 hostages. These hostages having been delivered up, the consuls declared that their final intentions would only be made known after they had arrived in Africa, and they crossed the sea with their formidable army, while Carthage, relying upon the promised peace, sent not a single war vessel to meet them. Upon arriving at Utica they required the Carthaginians to surrender their arms; more than 200,000 cuirasses, 3,000 catapults, and an infinity of javelins of every kind were delivered up.¹ "Now," said the consuls, "you will leave your city and go ten miles inland and establish yourselves there." It was an act of infamous perfidy, and the consuls added insult to injury. Censorinus extolled the advantages of an agricultural life, far from that deceitful sea, the sight of which would nourish regrets and dangerous hopes.¹

The Carthaginians were still 700,000 strong, and indignation roused them. The patriotic party seized upon the authority once more; the partisans of Rome were massacred; the gates were closed; the temples were transformed into workshops, and night and day the armorers plied their trade; women cut off their long hair to make ropes; the slaves were enfranchised and enrolled; and Hasdrubal, one of the leaders of the popular party, took the field with 20,000 men, whom he had not allowed to be disarmed. When the consuls advanced to take possession of the city, they found the walls manned with defenders, and were repulsed thrice. Their machines of war and part of their fleet were burned. Behind them the country was in insurrection, and Hasdrubal had collected in his camp at Nepheris as many as 70,000 men. Notwithstanding their 80,000 legionaries, the position was not without danger to the Roman generals.

¹ Appian, *Lib.* 74-81; Strabo, xvii. 833.

In the army served as legionary tribune a son of Paulus Aemilius, who had been adopted by the eldest son of Scipio Africanus, and had united the names of the two families, Scipio Aemilianus. He had already distinguished himself in Spain, where he had slain in single combat a warrior of gigantic size, and he had gained a mural crown by being the first man to scale the ramparts of a besieged city. On one occasion before Carthage an entire attacking column became involved, and would have been massacred, had he not brought reserves to its help. Another time, by a rapid advance upon the enemy's rear, he saved the camp of Manilius. Again, the army owed to him its safety in an ill-directed expedition against Hasdrubal. Other services increased his credit with the troops and his reputation at Rome. His integrity and fidelity to his word gained him the confidence of Masinissa; and the old Numidian king upon his death-bed (148) sent for the young Roman to intrust him with the settlement of the succession. By Masinissa's orders the royal authority was divided among his three sons, the youngest of whom, Gulussa, a skilful general, did the Romans good service against Carthage.

Calpurnius Piso, who was in command during the year 148, was very negligent in respect to discipline, and met with repulses before Clypea and Hipponium; it was, in fact, another year wasted. Scipio was at Rome soliciting the aedileship; he received the consulate and the charge of the war (147). With him it at once assumed a new aspect. He restored to the soldiers their old habits of obedience and courage and industry. Carthage was situated upon an isthmus; he cut this by a canal and a wall twelve feet high. To starve out the inhabitants it was needful also to close their harbor; he threw across its entrance a dyke ninety feet wide at the base and twenty-four at the top. But the Carthaginians excavated through the solid rock a new channel to the open sea, and a fleet built with the *débris* of their houses all but surprised the Roman galleys. After a long day's struggle Scipio forced the enemy to return back into the harbor, and guarded the new entrance by machines of war that swept with missiles the whole breadth of the channel.

Leaving famine to make frightful ravages in the city, Scipio

proceeded during the winter to storm the camp at Nopheris and destroy the army, which was the sole hope of the Carthaginians. In the early spring (146) he resumed the siege with activity, and carried the wall of the Port Cothon. The Romans were now in Carthage; but to reach the citadel Byrsa, in the heart of the town, long narrow streets were to be traversed, from whose houses the inhabitants offered the most desperate resistance. For six days and nights the Roman army fought its way towards the citadel, and upon its surrender 50,000 men gave themselves up, receiving the promise of their lives. Eleven hundred deserters still held out, having taken refuge with Hasdrubal in the temple of Aesculapius. Up to this time Hasdrubal, whatever Polybius may say, had conducted the defence with skill and gallantry. A moment of weakness disgraced him; he begged for his life of Scipio, and the latter called to the deserters to witness the humiliation of their leader. His wife had not consented to follow him. She ascended the top of the temple and called aloud to Scipio. "Do not fail," she cried, "to punish this wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, and his children! O vilest of men! go, adorn the triumph of the victor, and receive in Rome the reward of your baseness!" Then slaying her two children, she threw herself down into the blazing pile which the deserters had set on fire.

Scipio, after reserving for the public treasury the gold, silver, and gifts deposited in the temples, gave over the smoking ruins to pillage. For himself he took nothing; but he gave an invitation to the Sicilians to carry home the trophies which Carthage had brought from Syracuse and Agrigentum. Then came the Senate's work. Roman commissioners converted the territory of Carthage into a province. They overthrew whatever remained standing in the city, and under the most terrible imprecations devoted to eternal solitude the place where Carthage had stood. From the summit of a hill Scipio saw the work of desolation accomplished. In presence of this ruined empire, this great city, where soon not one stone would remain upon another, he was much affected, and instead of the intoxication of victory, a profound melancholy seized him. He thought on the future of Rome, and Polybius overheard him sadly repeating: "The day will come when sacred

Troy shall fall, and Priam, and the people of the warlike Priam."¹



TERRITORY OF CARTHAGE.²

Would it have been better if Rome, content with the possession of Italy, had lived in peace with her great African rival,

¹ "Εσσεται ἡμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

They are Hector's words in the *Iliad*, cited by Polybius (xxxix. 3). Scipio had no reason for his anxiety. Rome was stronger and better than Carthage. Empires created by commerce alone rest upon a frail foundation. For their destruction a violent shock is not always necessary. Some are crushed under the weight of their own wealth, others fall by an indirect blow. The Parthians, in closing the overland route to Oriental commerce, and the Ptolemies, in opening to it Egypt and the Red Sea, ruined Phoenicia; the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco di Gama struck a death-blow at Venice; the Hanseatic League fell because the importance of northern commerce was destroyed as soon as direct relations by sea were established with the East. Last of all, Holland, Portugal, and Spain, enriched by commerce with the East and with America, have been supplanted by England by reason of the extension of her relations in the East and West Indies. A day may come when the New World, placed midway between Europe and the East, will inherit the commercial prosperity of England.

² See Vol. I. p. 527.

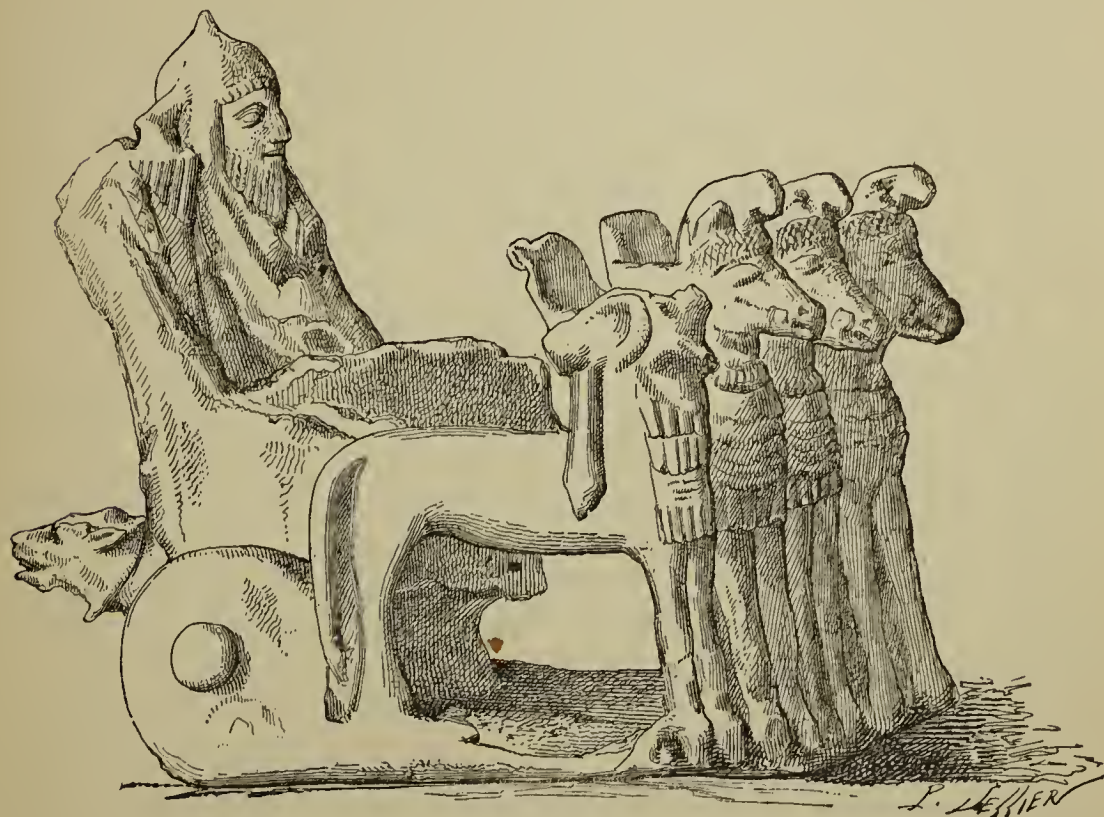
and the two nations on either side of the channel of Malta had followed each her own special destiny without collision, Carthage developing commerce, that great factor of civilization, Rome limiting her ambition to the giving of peace to Italy and to the carrying forward into the West the light she herself had borrowed from Greece? To put the question thus is to answer it. But when was ever wisdom like this shown in human affairs?

Hostile nations contend for dominion, rival cities for existence. Between the latter every war is a war of extermination, every means towards success seems to be legitimate. In this way had disappeared before the power of Rome the cities of Alba Longa, Veii, Volsinii, Capua, Syracuse; in this way Carthage fell. But the Romans put so much duplicity into the work of destruction, that history can no longer speak of Punic faith; it is Roman faith she must stigmatize.

At the same time, if the opinion of the men of those times, and the historic circumstances were such that one of the two cities must perish, we ought not to regret that Rome was victorious.

What progress does humanity owe to Carthage? In our time, when commerce is held, and justly, in great honor, men have sought to revise, in the name of political economy, the decision of the ages. Their devotion to material interests, turning backward into the past, calls upon us to deplore the destruction of that Power which might, they say, have united the world in the peaceful bonds of trade, as Rome bound it together by the bloody ties of victory. But there are fruitful wars as there may be a destructive peace; and nations, like individuals, live in posterity, not by what they do for themselves, but by what they bequeath to the generations that come after. Of what consequence are the commercial houses of Carthage in comparison with the Greek colonies that we know by the names of Miletus, Ephesus, Phocaea, Rhodes, Byzantium, Alexandria, Cyrene, and Marseilles? Of what consequence, in comparison with those great Sicilian and Italian cities, which knew how to find wealth as well as ever Carthage did, but were also glowing centres of art and of thought? Even upon that African soil which she held so long, what did she leave behind her? Her language, which 600 years later the contemporaries of Saint Augustine spoke, but not a

monument, not a book.¹ Her institutions remain a problem, of which Aristotle and Polybius give different accounts; her arts have produced only shapeless figures, worthy of the South Sea islanders,—a new proof of the iconoclastic temper of the Semitic



PHOENICIAN CAR.²

racés,—and to the sum of ideas already existing in the world she added nothing. If there had been left to us of Rome nothing save the inscriptions upon her tombs, we should have been able from them to reconstruct her civil and military organization, her philosophy and her religion; while the funeral columns of Carthage reveal only a sterile devotion. The heritage left to the world by Carthage is this,—the memory of a brilliant commercial success, of a cruel religion, of some bold explorations; a few fragments

¹ [Even this is not certain. The Berber dialects survived both the Phoenician and Roman occupation; and it was not till the third occupation by the Arabs that the original language may be said to have disappeared. Cf. Sismondi, *Littér. du Midi de l'Europe*, vol. i. — *Ed.*]

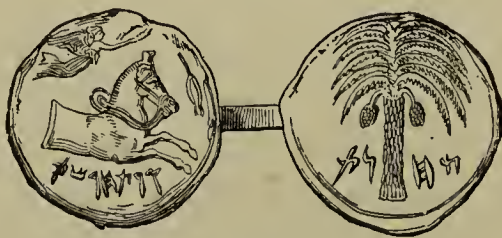
² Heuzey, *Les Figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, pl. v. The rude forms in this figurine confirm what has been said and shown (vol. i. pp. 539–543) of the barbarism of Punic art.

of voyages;¹ a few agricultural precepts, of which the Latins had no need; and lastly, the honor of having for a century retarded the destinies of Rome, with the generous example, at their last hour, of an entire people refusing to survive their country.

Greece and Rome have bequeathed us something very different. Let no one say that the Romans destroyed everything. Mummius and Sylla were not less terrible in Greece than Scipio in Africa; and yet Greek civilization did not remain buried under the ruins of Corinth and of Athens. Genius is like the sacred fire in the temple,—it survives, even under ruins.

¹ Sallust (*Jug.* 20) speaks, however, of some Carthaginian historians; but what he has borrowed from them is strange enough. The Senate, instead of destroying the books found at Carthage, had one of them translated, the work of Mago on agriculture, and gave the rest to the African princes, — recognizing, no doubt, that no advantage could be derived from them. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 22.) We have a Greek version of the voyage of Hanno and a Latin version of some fragments of the voyage of Himileo.

² Half a horse, running, and crowned by a Victory; a grain of barley and seven Punic letters, read by M. de Sauley, *Karth-Khadishah*, "The New City," the Phoenician name of Carthage. On the reverse, a palm-tree and four Punic letters, *Maknat*, "the camp." Silver coin, minted in Sicily for Carthage.



CARTHAGINIAN COIN FROM SICILY.²

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUBMISSION OF SPAIN AND OF PERGAMEAN ASIA.

I. SUBMISSION OF SPAIN (178-133).

CARTHAGE, Macedon, and Corinth had yielded; Spain still held out. She had no great cities where she might be subdued, nor, among the inhabitants of Central and West Spain, was there great movable wealth, which, by inciting the greed of the peasantry of Latium, would render enlistments numerous; and, especially, she lay far distant from Rome. From Lilybaeum to Carthage, from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, the voyage was short and safe, and by way of Thrace and the Cyclades, Asia might readily be reached. It was not so easy to get to Spain. Instead of crossing direct from Ostia to Carthagenæ, across the Tyrrhenian Sea, the legions marched slowly up the Etruscan coast, as far as the superb Gulf of Spezzia, *Lunæ Portus*,¹ where the Romans had established a maritime arsenal, which has become the Toulon of the modern Italians.² Embarking from this port, they sailed with great precaution along the Ligurian coast, running into shelter at the least suspicion of a storm, and guarding themselves against the ambuscades of the mountaineers every time that they were obliged

¹ The gulf extends into the land for a distance of more than seven miles, and a little city, which Ptolemy called the port of Venus (*Porto Venere*), still exists at its entrance.

² Strabo, who also calls it *Σελήνης λιμὴν*, regards it as the first port in the world. Livy (xxxiv. 8, and xxxix. 21, 32) represents it as the rendezvous of the Roman fleets; Ennius had celebrated it, —

Lunai portum, est operæ, cognoscite, cives!

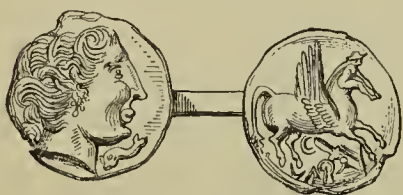
And Persius, who lived there, admires it, —

Qua latus ingens

Dant scopuli et multa litus se valle receptat.

Sat. vi. 7-8.

to land. From the Var to the Rhone they could advance more rapidly, past the friendly trading-ports of the Massiliotes; but from the Rhone to the Pyrenees extreme precaution was necessary in crossing that sea, which is so justly called the Lion's Gulf. The debarkation took place at Emporiae, or more frequently at Tarragona; thence the cohorts made their way to the positions occupied by the troops whom they came to relieve, often at the very extremity of Spain. These circumstances explain why Rome had need of three quarters of a century to put an end to the insurrections of the Spaniards, while in a few campaigns she had been able elsewhere to destroy famous kingdoms.



DRACHMA OF EMPORIAE.¹

From the time of the pacification of Spain by Sempronius Gracchus, in 178, until the year 153, the tranquillity of the two provinces was disturbed only by an outbreak among the Celtiberians. In 170, one of those religious and patriotic fanatics, of whom Spain has produced so many, went through the villages of Celtiberia exhibiting a silver spear, which he asserted he had received from Heaven, and from which, he said, the affrighted legions of Rome would flee in terror. One night this man attempted to enter the consul's tent, and was slain by guards,



COIN OF TARRAGONA.²

upon which the revolt ended. This disturbance shows that the Roman rule was not yet accepted in Spain. The country, in fact, contained too many mines of gold and silver not to excite the cupidity of the praetors, and these officers were too rapacious to recoil from any form of extortion. While the war with Perseus was yet undecided, the Senate was forced to assume an air of equity, and to interpose its authority. But the new nobility were seldom mindful of the austere virtues of the earlier days; the praetors still sought to repair in Spain their fortunes wasted in

¹ This head of Pegasus — a little human head, stooped and with wings, which the Duc de Luynes had noted long ago, has been interpreted by Cavedone (*Bull. arch. de Rome*, 1841), as Chrysaor, brother of Pegasus, born of the blood of Medusa, the twin of Pegasus.

² AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE, C(ivitas) V(ictrix) T(ogata) T(arraeo). Temple with eight columns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Tarragona.

debauchery or in the scandalous outlays which preceded the elections.

In 153 an emissary of Carthage found the Lusitanians ripe for revolt. A praetor and 9,000 soldiers were killed; and to decide the defection of the mountaineers of the centre of the peninsula, the successful insurgents sent to them the military ensigns taken in the Roman camp. One of these Celtiberian tribes, reserved to a glorious destiny, the Arevaci of Numantia, took arms and thrice defeated the troops sent against the city. Galba, defeated by the Lusitanians, feigned a willingness to negotiate, dispersed them by the offer of fertile lands, then massacred 30,000 and gorged himself with booty.

This act of treachery appeared for the time successful; and in Celtiberia the consul Lucullus disgraced the Roman name by a similar expedient. He had had difficulty in finding soldiers. Since rather unproductive pillage could only be attained through a murderous war, no one presented himself for enrolment. It became necessary for Scipio Aemilianus to shame the Roman youth by offering himself to take the field. Lucullus made a causeless attack upon the Vaccaei, who were on friendly terms with Rome, and besieged Cauca, one of their cities, where a multitude of men had taken shelter. The inhabitants negotiated and opened their gates, upon which Lucullus destroyed 20,000 and sold the rest. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Intercatia surrendered only upon the personal guaranty of Scipio (150).

From the massacre of the Lusitanians one man only had escaped, Viriathus, originally a shepherd, to whom all the mountain paths were familiar,—the first, we may say, of those heroic leaders whom in all ages Spain has found ready to serve her. Ten thousand of his countrymen having imprudently placed themselves in a position where they could not fight and whence they could not fly, Viriathus led them out by paths apparently impracticable. His people would accept no other leader (147); and for five years he carried on with the Romans a war of ambushes and surprises, in which they lost their best troops. Viriathus well understood, however, that the Lusitanians alone could neither save Spain nor even maintain their own independence, and he incited the Celtiberians to revolt. This union with the tribes

who held the centre of the peninsula, rendered the war serious. The Senate despatched against the Celtiberians one of their best generals, Metellus Macedonicus, who fought with them for two years (143–142), and took nearly all their towns. This powerful diversion served the designs of Viriathus by leaving the other Roman army, which was commanded by the consul Servilianus, exposed alone to his attacks.¹ Shut up in a defile, the army avoided complete destruction only by capitulating upon the terms that there should be peace in future between the Roman people and Viriathus, and that each party should retain that which he then possessed. The comitia ratified this treaty, which would have caused earlier Romans to die of shame (141).

A new general, Caepio, obtained the authorization of the Senate to violate this treaty. He surprised Viriathus, who was relying without suspicion upon the promised faith of the Romans, drove him back into the mountains, and caused him to be assassinated by two Lusitanians who had been won over to the Roman cause (140). For eight years Viriathus had checked the Romans in Spain. His death discouraged both his army and his people; and Caepio had not even the opportunity to fight, and thus cover with a little military glory the perfidy he had committed. The Lusitanians submitted. He transported them into the midst of tribes already disciplined to the yoke of Rome on the shore of the Mediterranean, where Brutus, his successor (138–137), caused them to build the city of Valencia. This latter general had still some partial resistances to overcome. Numerous bands scoured the country, and these he starved out by destroying the harvest, and penetrated into the territory of the Gallaeci as far as the seacoast, where his legions beheld the sun sinking into that mysterious western ocean which was forever heaving, as men then believed, with the mighty respiration of Tèrra, the earth-goddess.²

Brutus believed that the power of Rome had now reached

¹ This consul, passing by adoption into the Fabian *gens*, had, according to usage, taken the names of his adoptive family, Q. Fabius Maximus, and kept from his own, the *gens Servilia*, the *agnomen* Servilianus. In this way the second son of Paulus Aemilius, after his adoption by the son of Scipio Africanus, took the name, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor.

² Pomp. Mela, iii. 1. The phenomenon of the Atlantic tides was astonishing to the dwellers by the Mediterranean. It is true, however, that the ancients had before this time remarked the influence of the moon upon the ebb and flow. [There is a slight tide in the Euripus, and also at Venice.—*Ed.*]

the very extremity of the world. Behind him, nevertheless, the strife stirred up by the Lusitanian hero still lasted. Metellus had left unsubdued in Celtiberia only two cities, Thermantia and Numantia.¹ The Spanish war, terminated in the south by the death of Viriathus, and in the west by the expedition of Brutus, was now centred in the north in the mountains which, detaching themselves from the Pyrenees at the head-waters of the Ebro, enclose the basin of that river, and from their southwestern slopes send down the waters of the Tagus and the Douro. The inaccessible character of these regions, the indomitable courage of the mountaineers defending their liberty in its last asylum, above all, the incapacity of the Roman generals, gave to this last effort of Spanish independence the aspect of a dangerous war. In 141 Pompeius made with the Numantians a treaty which he dared not avow in the Senate, and his successor, Popillius Laenas, approached the city only to undergo a defeat (138). The following year the consul Mancinus repeated the disgrace of Servilianus; shut up in an impassable gorge by the Numantians, he abandoned to them his camp and baggage, and gave his word to cease hostilities. So great was now the distrust of Roman promises, that the Numantians required the oaths of the officers of Mancinus and of his quaestor, Tiberius Gracchus, son of that Gracchus whose name was so long venerated by the people of Spain (138). The Senate refused to consider itself bound by this treaty; and selecting from antiquity such precedents as suited the manners of the day, renewed the comedy which had followed the incident of the Caudine Forks; Mancinus, naked and bound, was delivered over to the Numantians, who refused to receive him.² The people would not allow Gracchus to share the consul's fate.

New leaders and a new army failed to wipe out this disgrace. To destroy the little Spanish town, no less a general was needed than he who had overthrown Carthage. Scipio began by banishing

¹ It is believed that the ruins of Numantia still exist at Puente de Don Guarray, a league from Soria, upon an eminence more than a league in circumference, and accessible only from one side.

² He returned to take his seat in the Senate, but was refused place by the tribune P. Rutilius, who maintained that Mancinus, delivered to the enemy as a captive, had thus lost the *jus civitatis*. His friends appealed to the *jus postliminii*, or right of secret return, in his favor; but a special law was needful before he could be reinstated. [Cicero discusses this case, *de Orat.* i. 40. — *Ed.*]

idleness and effeminaey from the camp. He drove away 2,000 idle women, fortune-tellers, and charlatans, who had transformed it into a licentious village fair. He set the troops to labor digging ditches and building walls, and then to undo the work. "Let them be covered with mud," he said, "since they



THE BALEARIC ISLANDS.

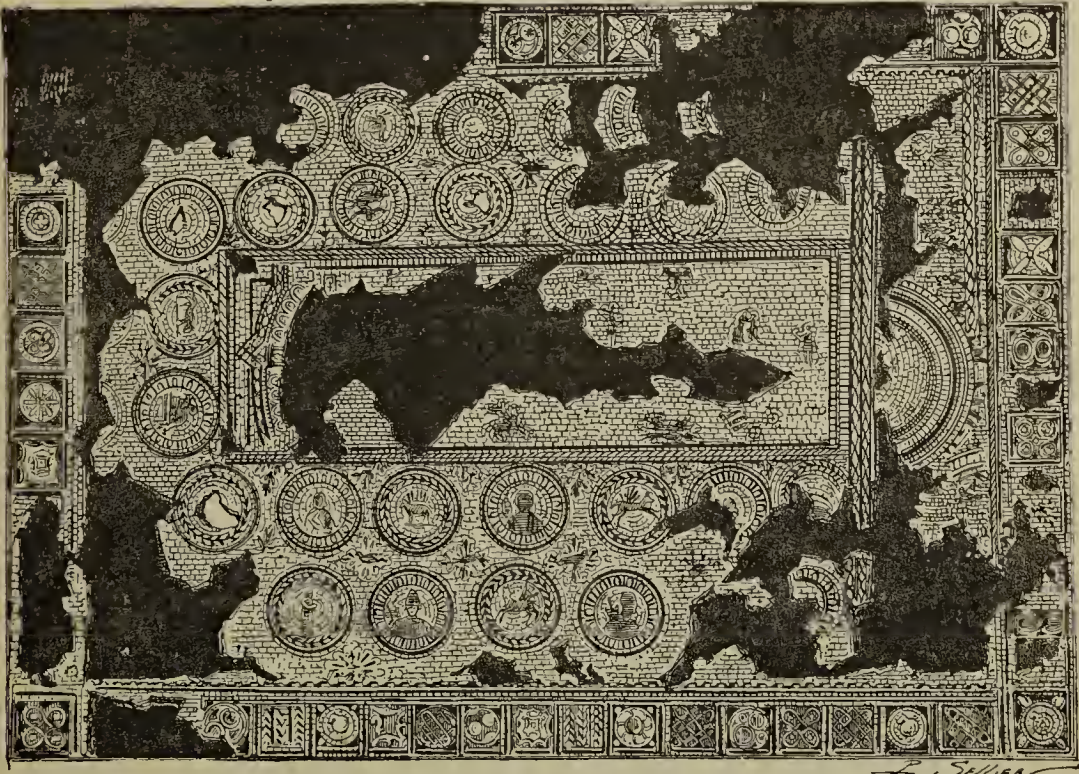
will not cover themselves with blood." Avoiding any general engagement, he attacked, one after another, the allies of the Numantians, by degrees drove back the latter into their city, and presently built a solid wall flanked with towers to shut them in. The Douro washed the base of the hill on which Numantia stood, and divers brought food to the besieged; Scipio threw into the river-bed beams of wood with iron teeth, and stretched nets across it. A Numantian leader, however, succeeded



COIN OF THE BAELARES.¹

¹ Cabeirus. Reverse, a bull. Silver coin of the Balears.

in passing through the Roman lines, and went to solicit aid from the people of Lucia. Scipio hastened to this city, required that 400 of the principal citizens should be given up to him, and ordered their hands to be cut off; at Carthage



MOSAIC FROM ITALICA.¹

he had thrown to the lions all the deserters whom he had taken.² The Numantians, hard pressed by famine, sought a battle, in which they might at least die gloriously; but Scipio would not come out from his impregnable entrenchments, and they were reduced to die by their own hands (133). But fifty Numantians were alive to follow his triumphal chariot at Rome.



COIN OF ITALICA.³

Exhausted with conflicts, Spain at last became tranquil. But the mountaineers of the north, the Astures, the Cantabrii, and the Vascones were not subdued. The Celtiberians and the Vaccae

¹ Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*.

² Val. Max., ii. 7.

³ GEN. POP. ROM. The genius of the Roman people; before him, a globe. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Italica.

again revolted in the time of the Second Servile War and the invasion of the Cimbri. The pacification of Spain was not to be completed until the reign of Augustus.¹



BAY OF GIBRALTAR.

The Balearic Islands were a nest of pirates. Metellus took possession of them, after almost exterminating the inhabitants (123).²

¹ Our principal authority upon these wars is still Appian; see also Florus and Vell. Patereulus.

² Livy, *Epit.* 60. Metellus founded Palma and Pollentia in these islands, and peopled them with colonists from Spain. (Strabo, iii. 5.)

These victories and these massacres do not explain how Spain came to be so completely Roman, in language,¹ in customs and institutions. Few colonies were sent thither. Only the military establishment of Italica² dates from this period, — a colony founded by Scipio's veterans, and later very flourishing, as we know by the fact that Trajan, Hadrian, and Theodosius came from it; there was another, founded in 171, at Carteia. The Senate as yet had not become willing to exile its citizens or even its allies to any point outside of Italy. But that which was not done with intention came about by the force of circumstances. If we seek to count the contingents arriving from Rome in the Spanish peninsula, we find that in a period of twenty-seven years only, from 196 to 169, more than 140,000 Italians crossed the Pyrenees; nor is the list complete.³ We cannot doubt that many of these soldiers remained in Spain and married women of the country. The colony of Carteia, at the head of the Bay of Gibraltar,⁴ is a proof of this, for it was formed of families of mixed race; hence they enjoyed only the *jus Latii*.⁵ The Senate might refuse to offer to the poor of Rome lands in a distant country, but her generals were certainly not slow in following the example of the first Scipio, and frequently granted estates to their veterans; so that, when the conquest by violence had been completed, a moral conquest by individual colonization at once began. These imperceptible but continuous infiltrations of Italian blood quickly Latinized the

¹ [In enumerating the causes of the Latinization of Spain, we must add, as perhaps the most important, that the old Celtic languages of both Gaul and Iberia were closely allied to Latin, — so much so that an ancient Gaul certainly, and an ancient Iberian probably, could learn it without difficulty. On the contrary, the most educated Greeks learned Latin with great difficulty. — *Ed.*]

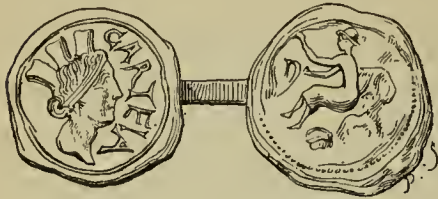
² Italica received the name of Old Seville (Sevilla la Vieja); it is six miles distant from modern Seville, whither its inhabitants emigrated in consequence of a change in the bed of the river. The ruins have almost completely disappeared; the mosaic, represented above, was discovered in 1799; it has since been destroyed, but was copied by M. Delaborde in his *Voyage en Espagne*.

³ These figures do not contradict the statement given on p. 211. The enrolments were numerous at first, while Baetica yet had the wealth accumulated there by Carthage and the Phoenicians in centuries of commerce. Later they became few and reluctant when there were only poor and warlike tribes to fight with.

⁴ In the place called El Roedillo, where the remains of an amphitheatre are yet visible.

⁵ The son of a Roman father and foreign mother, *peregrina*, followed the condition of the mother, unless she belonged to a nation which had the *jus connubii* with Rome. On this account there was a *diminutio capitis* for the Roman colonists of Carteia, and the new city was not a Roman, but a Latin colony. See Vol. I. p. 484.

Transalpine provinces.¹ On the other hand, beyond the Adriatic, where the wars were short, and where the legions never sojourned,



COIN OF CARTEIA.²

the Greek language was never displaced. Also we shall observe that in the West the civilizing element was the Roman spirit, while in the East it was Hellenism. Each absorbed into itself the inferior elements upon which it acted; Hellenism had long done this in Asia; Rome now begins to do it in Spain, and presently in Gaul. The West is on its way to become Latin; the East will remain Greek.³

II. REDUCTION OF PERGAMEAN ASIA INTO A PROVINCE (133-129).

FROM Spain we turn again to Asia, that we may follow the destructive work which the Senate was doing all round the Mediterranean, of which it intended to make a Roman lake.

From 188 to 133, not a Roman soldier appeared in Asia; but the commissioners of the Senate were always there, keeping



DEMETRIUS I., SOTER.⁴

watch upon the words and acts of the Asiatic princes; intervening with authority in all affairs, with the design of degrading the native rulers in the eyes of their subjects; exacting rich gifts,⁵ in order to keep them always burdened; taking



ARIARATHUS V.⁶

their sons as hostages,⁷ to send them back like Demetrius [of

¹ Later, Julius Caesar and Augustus sent many colonies thither.

² CARTEIA. Turreted head of the city. On the reverse, a fisherman on a height; beside him a basket. Bronze coin of Carteia.

³ Later we shall see Rome and the western provinces also undergo the influence of Hellenism, but under the form of philosophy and religion.

⁴ Gold coin of $2\frac{1}{2}$ staters (21.5 gr.).

⁵ Antiochus gave at one time 500 pounds of gold, at another fifty talents. (Livy, xxxvi. 4; xlii. 6.) Prusias offered a golden crown of 150 talents, etc.

⁶ Head of Ariarathus V., from a tetradrachm.

⁷ And with the king's sons, the sons also of the chief men in the kingdom. Antiochus gave twenty of these hostages, with the condition of changing them every three years.

Macedon], gained over to the interests of Rome; above all, forbidding them war, that the noise of arms might not awaken these people from their lethargy.

An impostor had risen up against Ariarathus V., and the Romans gave him possession of half of Cappadocia (147);¹ Prusias of Bithynia had conquered the King of Pergamus and pillaged his capital; they condemned him to pay a fine of



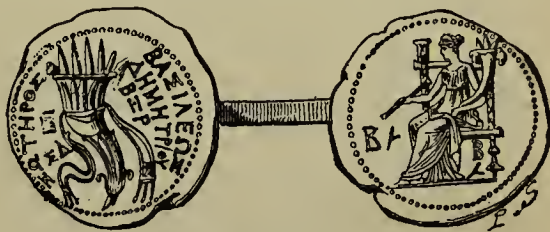
COIN OF METHYMNA.²

600 talents, 500 for Attalus II., and the remainder for Methymna and three other cities whose territory he had ravaged (155).³ Upon



ANTIOCHUS V.,
EUPATOR.

the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the legitimate heir of the throne of the Seleucidae, Demetrius Soter, was at Rome. The Senate caused a child, Antiochus Eupator, to be proclaimed, and despatched Octavius into Syria, with orders to burn the Syrian fleet, to kill their elephants, and disband their army.⁴ But Demetrius, aided by Polybius, who equipped a Carthaginian vessel for the purpose, made his escape; the Senate hastened to form an alliance with the Jews, at this time in revolt against the Seleucidae, under the leadership of Judas Maccabaeus, and recognized their independence (158). In Egypt, being called in as arbiter between Physcon and Philometor, they dismembered the kingdom, concealing the perfidy of the act under the show of impartiality, the heritage of the Ptolemies being thus divided into three separate states, Egypt, Cyprus, and the Cyrenaica.⁶



COIN OF DEMETRIUS I., SOTER.⁵

¹ Appian, *Syr.* 47.

² Head of Pallas, very ancient, in a hollow square, On the reverse, MEΘYMNAI . . . in early Greek, and a wild boar. Silver coin of Methymna of very early date.

³ Polybius, xxxiii. 11.

⁴ Polybius, xxxi. 10.

⁵ *Aureus* from the *Cabinet de France*, — a unique specimen. Both obverse and reverse bear the horn of plenty; the letters ΒΕΡ, under the name of Demetrius, mark its date, the 162d year of the Seleucidae, that is, 150 B. C.

⁶ Polybius xxxi. 26. [Cf. also I. Maccabees on the treaty of Rome with Judas. — *Ed.*]



PTOLEMY VI. (PHILOMETOR).¹

The kings of Pergamus had rendered too many services in the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, for the Senate to be able to show themselves openly hostile. But among states gratitude has very little permanence; and the Romans soon perceived that it was for their interest that the Attalids should not become the chiefs of a great Asiatic monarchy. Manlius contented himself, therefore, with humbling the pride of the Galatians, without taking away their liberty, that he might leave



CYPRUS.²

them to be forever adversaries to the Pergameans, and stumbling-blocks in the ambitious path of the latter. In the same intention the Senate never interposed effectively to hinder the disputes of Eumenes and Attalus with the Bithynians. It continued to be the policy of Rome to suffer these petty kings to exhaust their strength in vain quarrels, which her commissioners were sent to

¹ From a unique coin in the *Cabinet de France* (14.1 gr.).

² From the village of Cata Dicono at the base of the Cerina Hills. Albert Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, fig. 72, pl. 28 (extract from *Mémoires de la Société de Géologie de France*, 2d series, vol. iii.).

arrest only when they seemed likely to end too favorably for one side or the other.¹

Of the two kings following Eumenes, who died in 159, the second, Attalus III., seems to have been a monster of cruelty. By turns sculptor, worker in metal, and physician, he murdered those who did not applaud his erratic acts, and he tried upon his relatives and friends, and upon his guards, the noxious plants which he cultivated with his own hands. Upon his death, in 133, the Senate declared that in his will he had made the Roman people his legatee, and the inheritance was no less than the kingdom of Pergamus. A natural son of Eumenes, Aristonicus, raised an insurrection among the people, defeated the consul Licinius Crassus, and would have made him prisoner; but the latter, not willing to be taken alive, struck one of the barbarian soldiers in the face, and was instantly slain in retaliation for the injury. The consul Perperna easily made amends for this defeat



VASE FROM THE CYRENAICA.²

¹ In 1859 there were discovered a number of letters [on marble] from Eumenes and Attalus II., who died in 138, to the high priest of Pessinus, in which it is plainly manifest, notwithstanding much reticence, how miserable was the condition of these times. [Cf. Munich, *Sitz. Ver.* 1860.]

² Black vase from the Cyrenaica. It is fluted, and bears four similar medallions in relief, representing a winged genius holding a cornucopia. The two handles are twisted like rope; around the neck of the vase are wreathed sprays of ivy; where the handles are set on are masks of Medusa in relief. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,333 of the catalogue.

(130), and Aristonicus, being sent to Rome, was put to death; peace being established, the kingdom of Pergamus was made into a province under the name of Asia (129).

The King of Cappadocia, Ariarathus V., who had aided the Romans in this war, perished in it; and the Senate rewarded his fidelity by restoring to his family the territory of Lycaonia and Cilicia. The gift was not one of which Rome was likely to repent. Ariarathus had six children; his widow murdered five of them, sparing the youngest, that she might reign in his name. But the people revolted, and she in turn perished. A kingdom like this was not a dangerous neighbor for the new province.

Thus, in the space of a few years, Rome had subjected to her sway the greater part of the countries lying upon the Mediterranean, at an expense of much less heroism than duplicity. Since the great struggle of the Second Punic War, there had been no serious danger for her, and she could have afforded to be generous. Such moderation, however, is not in human nature. A certain current of events sets in, and all give way before it, even those who recognize its peril. If, upon the conquest of Hannibal, the Romans had shut themselves up in Italy, with a resolution never to overpass its boundaries, they would have been a people of sages such as history cannot parallel.

¹ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧ(ης) ΑΝΕΘ(ηκεν). ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ. "Alexander the *Asiarch* has consecrated . . ." perhaps the city, perhaps a temple, or the statue represented upon the coin, which M. Cohen takes to be Cadmus stepping into a ship. Reverse of a bronze coin minted at Otrus in Phrygia.



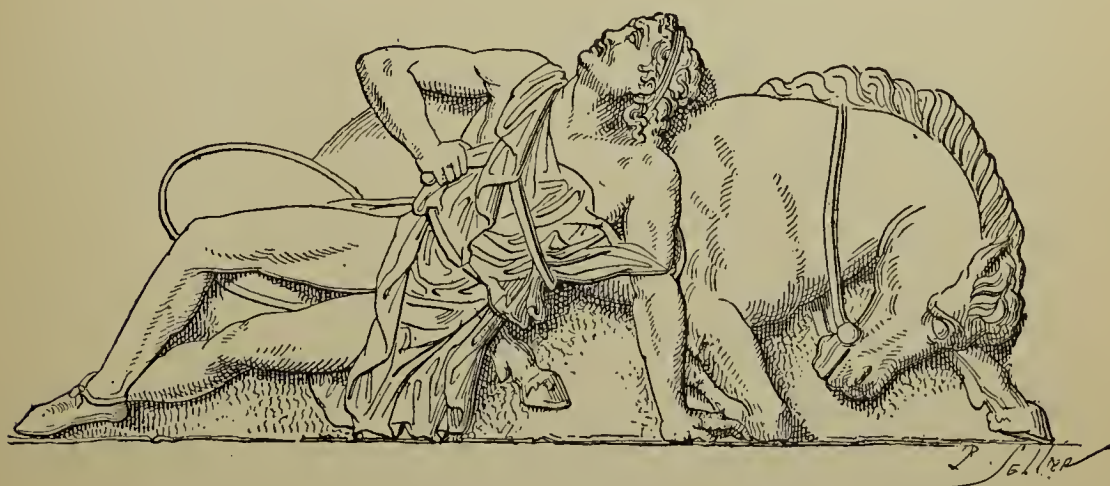
PHRYGIAN COIN.¹

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN PROVINCES.

I. EXTENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC ABOUT 130 B. C.

A HUNDRED and thirty years before Christ the Roman Republic had ended its great wars and founded its empire. There remained to conquer only Jugurtha, Mithridates, and the Gauls.



WOUNDED GAUL KILLING HIMSELF.¹

Rome already held the three great peninsulas of Southern Europe, Spain, Italy, and Greece. Between Italy and Greece she had opened a way for herself around the Adriatic by the subjugation of the Istrians and the Iapodes in 129, of the Dalmatians in 154, of the Illyrians before the Second Punic War; it was a road as yet somewhat insecure, not to become safe until under the Empire, after fresh blows had been struck at these rude and barbarous populations. A praetor had even gone as far as the Danube in search of those Gallic nations that Philip and Perseus had hoped

¹ From the sarcophagus given on p. 192.

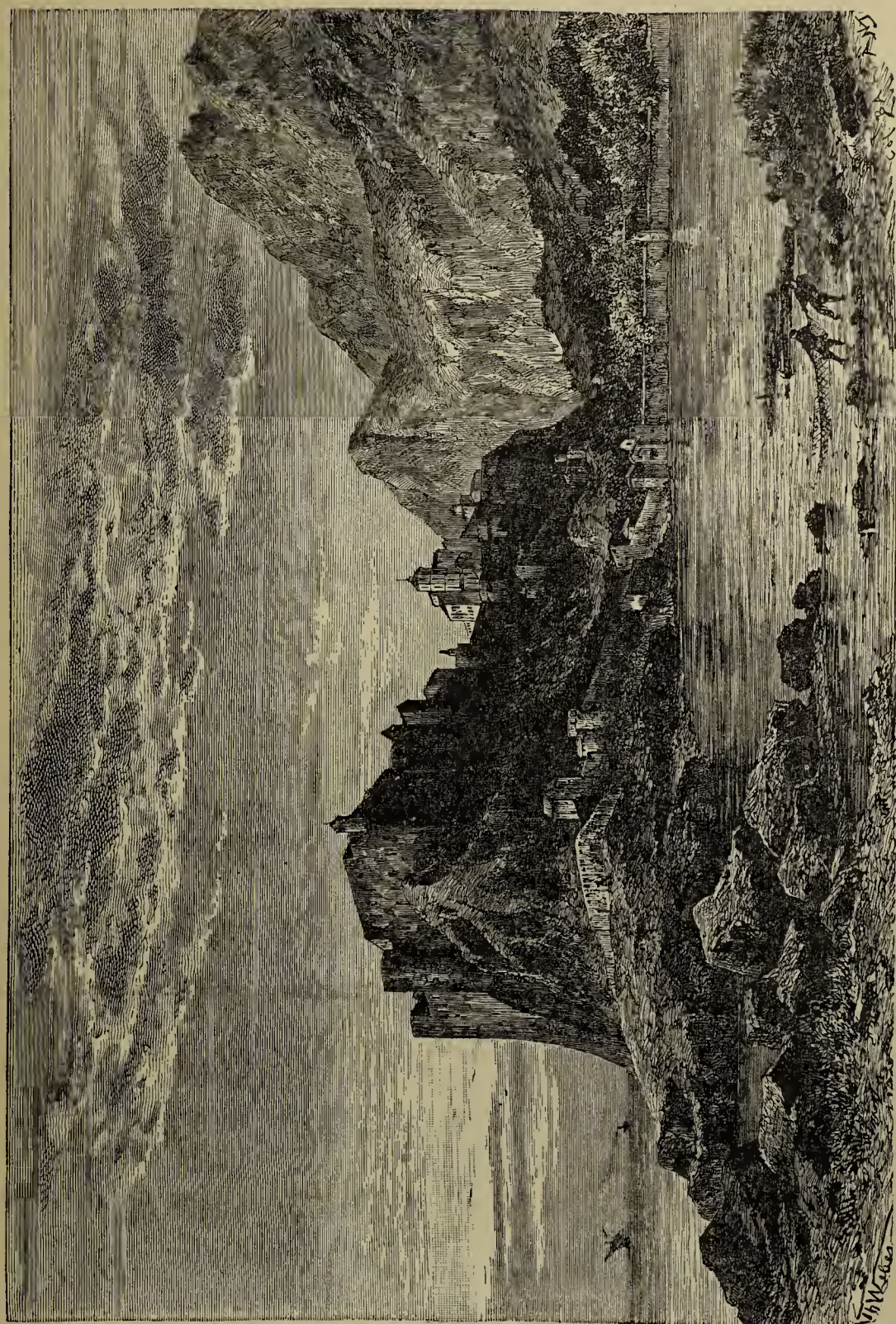
to set upon Italy.¹ Between Italy and Spain there was no route by land; but on that side Rome had long ago formed useful alliances, and a few years later she established a province there. Meanwhile, Marseilles furnished ships and a harbor, pilots from the Var to the Ebro, and put at Rome's service her influence over the neighboring barbarians. Massiliote spies had warned Rome when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, had kept watch on his march through Gaul, had guided Scipio's horsemen in their reconnoitring. In return, the Senate had sent its legions across the Alps as early as 154 to defend these useful allies against the Oxybii and Deciates, who threatened their trading-houses at Nice, Antibes, and Monaco.² Rome was under a necessity of securing, at all costs, her communication with Spain.

The independence left to some few mountainous districts in the north of Spain, of the Cisalpine, and of Illyria, does not prevent us from regarding the three European peninsulas as subject to the authority of Rome. In Asia Minor their sway extended as far as the Taurus; but ascertaining by means of Manlius' expedition how feeble the Galatians, formerly so dreaded, now were, Rome had not yet required of them the abandonment of a liberty which, on this far-off frontier, was rather a help than a hindrance to the Republic. Gavium, the great city of Ancyra, even Pessinus, which since Cybele came thence to the banks of the Tiber, was considered by the Romans a sacred city, were still left in the hands of Gallic tetrarchs. In Africa, Rome had retained the Carthaginian territory, which the Numidians, divided since the death of Masinissa among several kings, could now no longer molest. Egypt was under her guardianship, the Jews were in alliance with her, and the petty kings still remaining in Asia Minor were altogether at her discretion. Rhodes and the Greek cities of the Asiatic sea-coast rendered her divine honors;³ finally, before six years, Transalpine Gaul would be invaded. The rule of Rome, or her influence, extended from the ocean to the shores of the Euphrates,

¹ Expedition of Asconius against the Seordisci (135).

² See Desjardins, *Géogr. de la Gaule Romaine*, ii. 164.

³ Polybius, xxxi. 14. The Rhodians in 163 placed in the temple of Athene in honor of the Roman people a colossus thirty cubits high. As early as the year 170, *Alabandenses templum urbis Romae se fecisse commemoraverunt ludosque anniversarios ei divae instituisse.* (Liv., xliii. 6.) Smyrna had done the same twenty-five years earlier. (Tac., *Ann.* iv. 56.)



MONACO.

and from the Alps to the Atlas. But a few efforts more were needed to complete the stately structure of Roman supremacy.

It is now the proper place to examine the organization which the Senate bestowed upon the transalpine and transmarine provinces, as after the Samnite wars¹ we considered the arrangements made in respect to conquered Italy.

The territory of the Republic was divided into two parts, — Italy, south of the Rubicon and the Macra; and the provinces, or tributary lands,² of which there were at this time eight: —

Sicily, divided on account of its wealth into two quaestorships, whose seats were at Lilybaeum and Syracuse;³

Corsica and Sardinia;

Cisalpine Gaul;

Macedon, with Thessaly, Epirus, and Illyria;

Asia (the old kingdom of Pergamus);

Carthaginian Africa;

Further Spain;

Nearer Spain.

Achaea, that is to say Greece and her islands, may be regarded as a ninth province, although it had as yet no special governor.

To these domains of the Republic another should be added; the Mediterranean belonged to Rome, and the divine pair, Neptune and Amphitrite, whom the Greeks had so greatly honored, began now to receive homage on the banks of the Tiber. Neptune obtained at quite a late period a temple in the Campus Martius; and we know nothing of the worship paid him there, not even with certainty the day on which his festival was celebrated. But Greek artists, employed by wealthy Romans, delighted in multiplying graceful representations of Amphitrite and her nymphs, — deceitful representations of peace reigning upon the waves; for Rome was not destined to give to her maritime domain



NEPTUNE.⁴

¹ Vol. I. chap. xvii.

² *Stipendiaria facta est.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 28.)

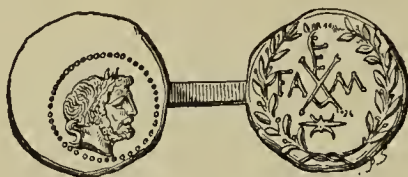
³ Cic., in *Verr.* ii. 4.

⁴ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (*of the King Demetrius*) and two monograms. Neptune standing, holding a trident. Reverse of a tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes.



COIN OF CISALPINE GAUL.

Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, a horse's head. Barbaric imitation of Carthaginian and Campanian coins : ΚΑΣΙΟΣ (*Kasios*), chief's name. Gallie coin of Cisalpine Gaul.



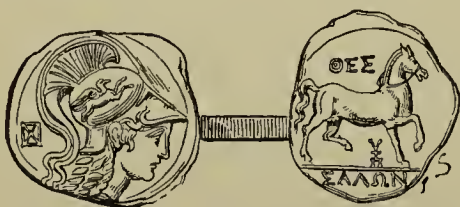
COIN OF THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE.

Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, AX in monogram, FAM, and a winged thunderbolt in a laurel-wreath. Triobol of Achaea (Achaean League).



COIN OF THE SECOND MACEDON.

Head of Diana on a Macedonian buckler. On the reverse, MAKEΔONΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ (*of the second region of the Macedonians*), two monograms and Hercules' club in an oak-garland. Tetradrachm.



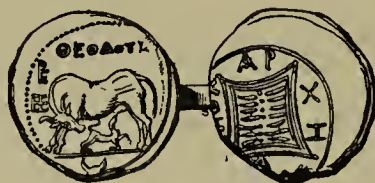
COIN OF THESSALY.

Head of Minerva; behind, a monogram. On the reverse, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and a monogram. Horse *passant*. Didrachm of Thessaly.



COIN OF ILLYRIA.

Jupiter laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, and an eagle standing in a laurel wreath. Didrachm of Epirus.



COIN OF EPIRUS.

ΘΕΟΔΩΤ (magistrate's name), and two monograms. Cow suckling her calf; below, the horns of a bull. On the reverse, ΑΠΟΛΛΑ (Λωνιατῶν) ΑΡΧΗ . . . (magistrate's name), and plan of the gardens of Aleinoüs. Drachma of Apollonia in Illyricum.



COIN OF PERGAMUS.

Head of Hercules. On the reverse, ΠΕΡΤΑ, Minerva standing, and a thunderbolt. Drachma of Pergamus. (14.1 gr.)

that peace which she secured to her continental provinces. She destroyed all foreign navies, without taking their place with vessels of her own, and she did nothing for the protection of the seas, where piracy henceforth raged with impunity.

II. THE PROVINCE.¹

IN ancient times the merciless law of war gave over to the conqueror the possessions, the lands, the life, the gods even of the conquered nation.²

The Senate had at first exercised this terrible right in all its rigor towards certain Italian peoples. Epirus, Numantia, Corinth, and Carthage had suffered the same fate, — destruction. But in general Rome left to her subjects their religion,³ their laws,⁴ their magistrates,⁵ their senate, and their public assemblies, the larger part or the whole of their lands and revenues,⁶ — in a word, a very

¹ To render this exposition less incomplete, and to avoid returning to the subject before the Empire, facts and testimony will sometimes be cited of later date than the year 130.

² *Divina humanaque omnia*, says Plautus (*Amphitryon*, I. i. 102) and Livy (i. 38; cf. vii. 31, ix. 9, xxxvi. 28; Polybius, xx. 9, 10, xxxvi. 2). The soil was understood to remain to its former owners in the provinces, the superior right of the Roman people being reserved, — a right represented by the *tributum* or *vectigal*. (Cf. Gaius, ii. 7, and Cic., *Verr.* iii. 6.)

³ Tac., *Ann.* iii. 60–63, iv. 14, 43; Tertullian, *ad Nation.* ii. 8, *Apolog.* 24: *Unicuique provinciae et civitati suus deus est*; Boeckh., *Corp. Inscript.* No. 4,474. The juriconsults recognized even the inviolability of religious property in the provinces. (Gaius, ii. 7: *pro sacro habetur.*)

⁴ This subject will be treated later in the chapter on Municipal Rule under the Empire.

⁵ Inscriptions and coins in great number mention in the Greek and Latin provinces magistrates elected by their fellow citizens and having entire jurisdiction, even the *jus necis*, except in a few cases, reserved for the governor's decision, to whom also there was a right of appeal from the local authorities.

⁶ The revenues of the cities consisted, first, in town-dues (Suet., *Vitell.* 14); secondly, in tolls (Strab., xii. p. 575, *Portorium Dyrrhachinorum*; Cic., *pro Flacco*, 3), — likewise at Tarsus (Dion Chrys., *Or.* xxxiv.); at Ambracia, but here with this exception, *dum immunes Romani ac socii Latini nominis essent* (Livy, xxxvii. 44); at Thermae the exemption was stipulated only for the farmers of the revenue (*Plebisc. de Therm.* lig. 74–75); at a later date Marseilles levied a toll upon the canal of Marius (Strabo, iv. p. 183), — thirdly, in largesses, which the customs of the time rendered obligatory upon citizens aspiring to municipal offices (Pliny, *Ep.* x. 94); fourthly, in interest upon capital lent out (*Dig.*, L. tit. iv. fr. 18, § 2); fifthly, in revenues drawn from public property, edifices, common lands, often situated very far away, — Capua had such lands in Crete (Vell. Patere., 11, 82), Emporiae in the Western Pyrencees, Byzantium in Bithynia. This city shared, Strabo says, with the Romans, revenues drawn from tunny-fishing in the Euxine Sea. Arpinum and Atella had lands in Gaul. (Cic., *Fam.* xiii. 7, 11.) Two little cities in Liguria had land in Beneventum. (*Bulletin de l'inst. arch.* for the year 1835.) The

considerable municipal freedom, even a lot less hard than in the days of their independence, for the Senate had often diminished the tribute they paid to the kings, their former masters,¹ and did not as a rule require from them military service, which was reserved exclusively for Romans and Italians.

These nations might therefore regard themselves as still free, and, moreover, as relieved from two evils which had rendered their existence intolerable: without, aimless and endless wars, where on both sides, and for the most trivial of motives, there was incessant destruction of harvests, and villages, and human lives; within, an envious populace, re-commencing the strife of the poor against the rich whenever the wars without were for the moment interrupted. Those who held property were constantly exposed to confiscation, to exile, or death. The Roman Senate restored tranquillity, causing peace between nations and order in towns; private wars were interdicted, and everywhere authority was reconstituted with a strong hand.

The word *provincia* has a twofold meaning,² expressing both the legal authority of the magistrate who held the military or the judicial *imperium*, and also the place in which that authority was exercised. The praetor, who determined cases at Rome, had only the judicial *imperium*; the pro-consul, who governed a country, had both the judicial and the military; and, finally, the country came to take the name of the function, *provincia*. When a people had made submission to Rome, a constitution was given to them, or, as it was called, a *formula*, fixing the quota of the tribute and

aqueducts and sewers (Cic., *adv. Rullum*. iii. 2), the common pasture-lands (Hygin, *de Lim.* p. 192), gave revenues often collected by publicans, to whom they were farmed out. (*Dig.* XXXIX. tit. iv. fr. 53, § 1.) To these sources must be added donations made by private individuals for the founding of public buildings, festivals, distributions, or perpetual public games. (Plin., *Ep.* x. 79; Tac., *Ann.* iv. 43; Orelli, *passim*.) And although a tributary city could not at that time be constituted heir or receive a legacy, it no doubt happened often that the law was forgotten or evaded, as in Pliny (*Ep.* v. 7).

¹ Antony said to the Greeks of Pergamean Asia: Οὐς ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν. (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4.) Paulus Aemilius relieved the Macedonians of half of the tribute, *quod pependissent regibus*, and reduced by one half the price of leases for the contractors who worked the iron and copper mines. In Illyria also there was a similar reduction. (Livy, xlv. 26, 29.) Cicero said (*pro Lege Manilia*, 6): *Provinciarum vectigalia tanta sunt ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus*. In Sicily there was no new tax levied: *Eorum agris vectigal nullum novum imponent*. (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6.)

² [The origin of this word has given rise to long and unsettled controversies. — *Ed.*]

the obligations of the provincials towards the Republic. This formula, which varied in the different provinces, was drawn up by the victorious general or by the commissioners of the Senate,—generally ten in number. As a rule, in order the better to restore order in the conquered country, the victorious general gave it new civil laws. This was done by Paulus Aemilius in Macedon,¹ by Gracchus in Spain, Rupilius in Sicily, Lucullus in Asia, Pompeius in Bithynia. In Achaea it was Polybius who, at the request of the cities, received from the Senate a commission to regulate the form of their government.² These new municipal constitutions preserved the old forms dear to the natives; only these forms were made to resemble the aristocratic institutions of Rome,³ as the civil laws of the vanquished were by degrees assimilated to those of the victors.⁴ Thus the sixty-five cities of Sicily⁵ had each a senate, two censors, who took the census every five years, orders of citizens, and offices filled on certain conditions of age and fortune. It was allowed to the subject nations, especially in Greece and the East, to celebrate in common their religious festivals and to re-establish their inoffensive leagues.

Provinces where the turbulence of the people or the neighborhood of the enemy rendered soldiers necessary were governed by proconsuls; others, more pacific, by praetors.⁶ These offices might

¹ Livy, xlv. 30, 22. *Leges quibus adhuc utitur.* (Justin. xxxiii. 2.)

² Pausanias, VIII. xxx. 5. Mummius had already introduced some changes. (*Id.* vii. 16; cf. Polybius, xl. 10.)

³ Pausanias says this expressly (VIII. xvi. 9): 'Ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπανσε [Μόμμιος], καθίστατο δὲ ἀπὸ τμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς. Quintius did the same in Thessaly (Livy, xxxiv. 51). and Gabinius in Judaea: . . . 'Ἀριστοκρατία διακοῦντο. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 8, 5.) The law made by Pompeius for Bithynia and Pontus, fixing the age of members of the provincial senate at not less than thirty, and requiring some previous service in public affairs, and making the duration of the office for life, also without doubt fixed a property qualification for the senators. (Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* x. 83; Athenaeus, v. 51: Πύκν' ἀφηρημένην τοῦ δήμου.) Cicero wrote to his brother (*ad Quint.* I. i. 2, 8): *Provideri abs te civitates optimatum consiliis administrantur.* In Sicily the inhabitants were divided into classes, *ex genere, censu, aetate.* (Cic., *in Verr.* ii. 2, 49.)

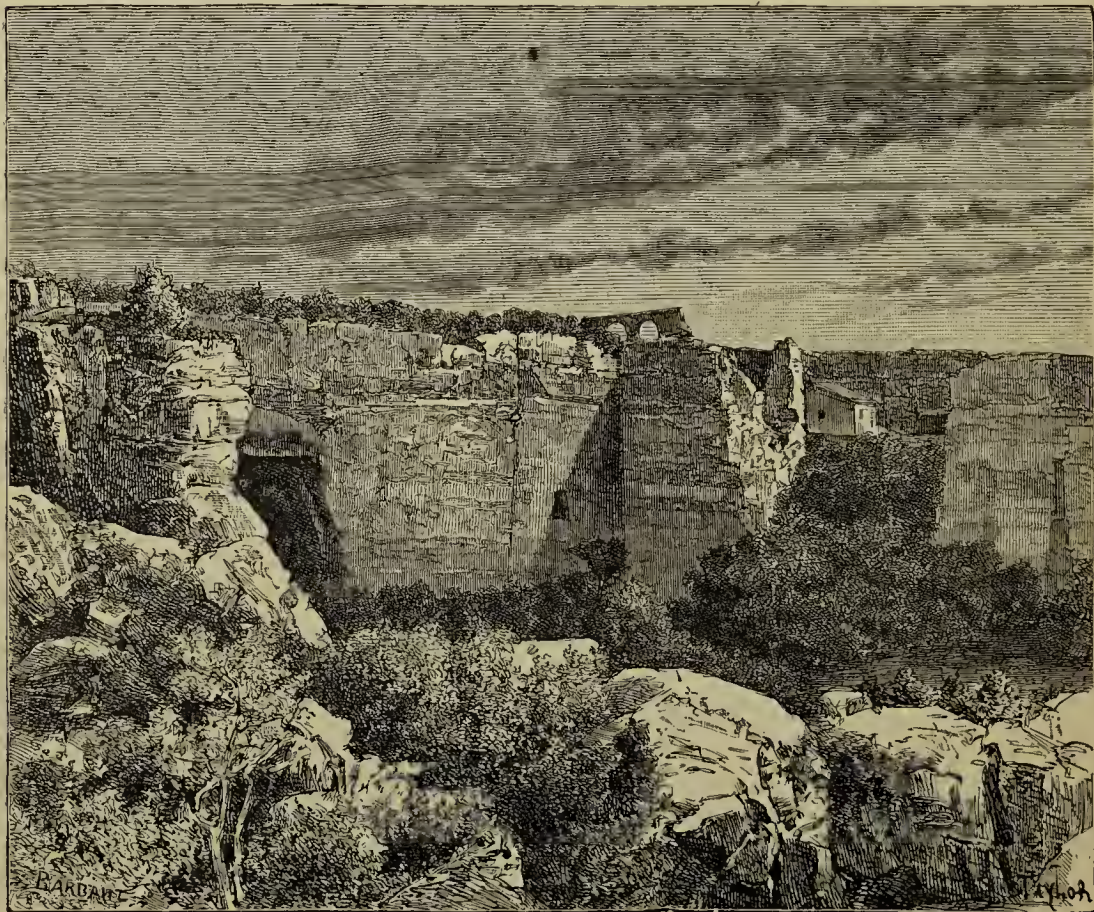
⁴ The edicts of the provincial praetors and quaestors (Gaius, i. 6), often, too, decrees of the Senate (Ulpian, *Fr.* xi. 18; Cic., *ad Att.* v. 21), caused this fusion.

⁵ Cic., *II. in Verr.*, ii. 15. We should, no doubt, add to this number the two confederate cities Messina and Tauromenium. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 8) says sixty-eight; Ptolemy (iii. 4) fifty-eight; Diodorus (xxiii. 5) sixty-seven; Livy (xxvi. 40) sixty-six.

⁶ The division into consular and praetorian provinces varied frequently. Macedon, a consular province under Piso, was praetorian in the time of his successor. (Cic., *in Pis.* 36, and *de Prov. cons.* 7.) Even the limits of provinces were sometimes changed. (Cic., *in Pis.* 16, 21, 24; Livy, xxiv. 44.)

be held for years. Sometimes even citizens without office obtained a province from the Senate or the people.¹

Aristocracies, which administer the government gratuitously, and democracies, which must administer it economically [?], do not multiply offices in the state; monarchy, on the other hand, swarms with them. Compare, for example, aristocratic England, which not long since had but 24,000 salaries on the estimates, and



QUARRIES OF SYRACUSE USED AS PRISONS.

the Empire of Constantine, where the army of office-holders was as great as the army of legionaries. Republican Rome was never willing to undertake in detail the administration of the provinces. She farmed out the taxes, to escape collecting them herself, the public works, to escape carrying them on; and she left the cities to manage their own affairs, with the intention of concerning

¹ Thus Scipio had obtained Spain: . . . *qui sine magistratu res gessisset*. (Livy, xxviii. 38; cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 19; Suet., *Caes.* 9; Polybius, vi. 13.)

herself therein only if the public peace should be in any way disturbed. She governed, she did not administer, — *regere imperio populos*. Hence a single man sufficed for a province vast as a kingdom.

III. THE GOVERNOR.

AT the very gates of Rome, as soon as he had crossed the sacred space of the *pomoerium*, the governor of a province took his insignia and his lictors with their axes bound in the rods, — six for a propraetor, twelve for a pro-consul, — and he was at once able to exercise “voluntary” jurisdiction,¹ but not the pro-consular authority, which he could exercise only within the limits of his province. His service was gratuitous. He received, however, from the Senate a sum, at times considerable,² for the expenses of his residence and journeys, and from the people of his province the corn required for his household, — a heavy tax, for a numerous company attended him: the praetorian cohort, that is, the soldiers composing his guard; the young nobles desiring to be initiated into public affairs under his guidance; his friends, *comites*, who



ROMAN HERALD.³

¹ But not “contentious” jurisdiction. *Jurisdictio voluntaria*: rendering valid certain acts done in the magistrate’s presence, as adoption or manumission; *jurisdictio contentiosa*: hearing and determining civil suits.

² This money was called *vasarium*. Piso received in this way 18,000,000 sesterces. The route into the province was determined in advance, and the journey was made in ships, on horseback, and in vehicles, the means of transportation being furnished partly by the state and partly by the countries through which the governor travelled. (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 45; Livy, xlii. 1; Cic., *in Verr.* II. v. 18; *ad Att.* v. 13, vi. 8; *in Pis.* 35.) In travelling within his province the governor lived in a tent, as Cicero did in Cilicia, when he wished not to be burdensome to the inhabitants, or he lodged at the houses of individuals. There seems to have been something like our modern system of billeting. (Cf. Cic., *in Ver.* II. i. 25: *Ostendit munus illud suum non esse; se quum suae partes essent hospitum recipiendorum . . . recipere solere.*) But the governor must always enter his province by the same city. Ulpian says in the *Digest* (I. xvi. 4. fr. 5): *Oportet ut per eam partem provinciam ingrediatur per quam ingredi moris est et quas Graeci ἐπιδημίας appellant sive κατάπλουν.*

³ From an engraved stone. A *fetialis* standing before a *columna bellica*, on which is a statue of Minerva throwing a javelin. (Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 268, at the word *Fetialis*.)

came to share his honors or make capital out of his influence;¹ his familiars, his freedmen, persons whom he might employ con-



LICTORS.

fidentially for secret and delicate missions; scribes, to make copies of public acts; interpreters, physicians, soothsayers, heralds, and the like.²

¹ Vitellius, governor of Syria, having deposed Pontius Pilate, pro-curator of Judaea, gave the province in charge to Marellus, one of his friends, τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.) These were the *contubernales*.

² Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 10, 30; Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 12. The governor was not at liberty to buy anything in his province (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iv. 5), nor receive any gift. (Cic., *de Leg.* iii. 4, and *lex Servilia*.) He was allowed to coin money for the needs of his army; we have gold *staters* of Flamininus. (Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*.)

The governor, whatever was his title, was invested with political, military, and judicial authority; he had absolute control over the person and property of the provincial. At Rome each magistrate had also, in his sphere of action, a power almost unlimited; but the injured citizen might appeal to another magistrate of equal or superior rank, who by his veto might neutralize the action of his colleague or inferior. In the provinces there was nothing corresponding to this; the pro-consul having neither colleague nor superior, his authority was without limits, and his decisions were immediately executed, with this sole exception, that Roman citizens established in the provinces had a right of appeal to the tribunes at Rome.¹

These pro-consuls were sometimes rapacious, unjust, and cruel; of this we shall soon have proof. Two circumstances, however, checked the tyranny of these powerful personages: their assizes being public, the pleaders found in this publicity a certain safeguard, and the provincials, having the right of complaint to the Senate, the governor was restrained by fear of accusations which might be brought against him. Thus, during the war with Perseus, the Spaniards came to ask justice from the Senate against many Roman generals. "Do not suffer," they said, "that your allies should be treated more cruelly than your enemies." The praetor Canuleius, to whom the government of Spain had fallen, received orders to designate five senators, who should institute an inquiry into the conduct of magistrates accused of malversation, and to authorize the Spaniards to choose patrons who should defend their cause. Four were selected by the province, — Porcius Cato, Corn. Scipio, the son of Cnaeus, Paulus Aemilius, and Sulpicius Gallus. The first magistrates cited were acquitted; but two praetors, to escape condemnation, exiled themselves to Tibur and to Praeneste.³



PEDIMENT OF
THE TEMPLE
AT PRAE-
NESTE.²

Later we shall see that in 149 a tribunal was organized expressly to receive these complaints. No doubt the exercise of this

¹ In virtue of the Porcian and Sempronian laws.

² M. PLAETORIVS CEST. S.C. Pediment of the temple at Praeneste, upon the reverse of a coin of the Plaetorian family.

³ Livy, xliii. 2.

right was dangerous on account of the enmities it created; but it was useful, for condemnations might be obtained,—witness that of Verres; and there was always to be found at Rome, without counting the patrons of the provinces, who were under obligation to defend them, some ambitious man in search of a great cause to plead, in order to bring himself before the public, and prepare his candidature at the ensuing elections. Thus Caesar began his career; and a hundred others had done the same.

In short, the government, which was republican at Rome, was monarchical in the provinces; and we need not be astonished when we shall see what had been the law for 70,000,000 people becoming the law for that infinitesimal minority which was called the Roman people.

The governor was general, and supreme judge; he was also law-maker, for by his edict he declared what principles he should follow in the administration of justice.¹ In the tributary cities, which bore the heaviest weight of subjugation, he confirmed the action of the local magistrates,² watched over the maintenance of order and the proper management of municipal affairs.³ He prevented, either by arbitration or authority, the carrying on of private war, dispersed seditious gatherings, and made levies in case of need in the province, and all requisitions that war might make needful.

¹ Cic., *ad Att.* vi. 6. Each new governor might, if he preferred, issue a new edict (*perpetuum*), or he might retain, in part or wholly, that of his predecessor, *edictum tralatitium*. A collection of these manifestoes formed what the Romans called *viva vox juris civilis*. See curious details given by Cicero in respect to the edict which he put forth in his government of Cilicia. (*Ad Att.* vi. 5.)

² Pliny, *Epist.* x. 28, 35, 47, 50, 52, 53, 63, 85. Trajan repeats to Pliny many times that a governor, being the guardian of the cities, the person in charge of their property, it is his duty to examine strictly into financial details. Cicero said, in his edict for Cilicia: *Diligentissime scriptum caput est quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum*. (*Ad Fam.* iii. 8.) The Julian and Titian law of the year 31(?) gave to the governor even more extensive rights in reference to the guardianship assigned by the magistrate than were exercised at Rome by the praetor in virtue of the Atilian law. (Cf. Giraud, *Hist. du droit Romain*, p. 253.) Augustus forbade the provincial cities to testify their gratitude to their governor until two months had elapsed from the date of his departure. (Dion., lvi. 23.)

³ Cicero made all the magistrates in Cilician cities, who avowed that for ten years they had shamelessly plundered the inhabitants, disgorge their ill-gotten wealth. (*Ad Att.* vi. 1.) Tacitus speaks of the extortions practised by the great in the provinces: *Ut solent praevalidi provincialium et opibus nimis ad injurias minorum elati*. (*Ann.* xv. 20.) The accounts of Apameia had never been examined by the governor of Bithynia before the time of Pliny. But Trajan, who desires to know about everything, directs Pliny to look closely into them, assuring the inhabitants, however, that this examination would not be regarded as establishing a precedent. (Plin., *Ep.* x. 56.)

Representing the public interest, he stimulated the construction of works of public utility and provided that they should be paid for from the city treasury.¹ Sometimes he even laid on new taxes or discontinued former ones;² but in all cases he was obliged to leave a copy of his financial report in two cities of the province.

As supreme judge, from whose jurisdiction there was no appeal except in the case of Roman citizens to the tribunes of the people at Rome, he decided civil and criminal cases in accordance with the rules he had himself laid down in his edict.³ To spare those within his jurisdiction costly journeys, he travelled through the country, holding his assizes at points designated in advance, *conventus juridici*.⁴ In Sicily (and these usages were repeated in the other provinces) the suits between citizens of the same town were settled by the local magistrates; between citizens of different cities, by judges whom the praetor designated, or else ordered to be selected by lot; between a private individual and a city, by the senate of another city; between a Roman and a Sicilian, by judges of the same nation as the defendant. In Sicily disputes between farmers of the revenue and proprietors were settled in conformity with the laws of King Hiero.⁵ But from all such decisions appeal could be made to the praetor. The subjects do not seem to have the right to take life except in case of slaves. The senate in Catana prosecuted a slave for a capital crime; but in Judaea the Jews, after condemning Jesus to death, were unable to execute the sentence without the authority of Pilate.⁶ The law formally prohibited the praetor from delegating to any other

¹ Pontius Pilate directed the construction of aqueducts at Jerusalem, and took money from the treasury of the temple to pay for them. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.)

² Vitellius, on his entry into Jerusalem as governor of Syria, abolished a tax levied upon all fruits sold in the city. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.) Piso imposed a tax upon everything sold in Macedon. (Cic., *in Pis.* 36.)

³ Sometimes they followed the Roman law, and sometimes the laws of the province. Thus Q. Cicero caused two Mysians, guilty of parricide, to be sewn up in a sack, after the Roman custom; and he threatened other guilty persons with being burned alive, — a punishment not in use at Rome. (Cic., *ad Quint.* i. 2.)

⁴ Cicero, governor of Cilicia, sent one of his lieutenants to Cyprus to render justice to the Roman citizens who traded there and had a right to find judges there. (*Ad Att.* v. 21.) Pliny gives a list, numerous, although incomplete, of these *conventus juridici*, which the Greeks call *διοικήσεις*. (Cic., *ad Fam.* xii. 57, 1; Strabo, xii. 629, etc.)

⁵ Cic., *in Verr.* ii. 13.

⁶ Εἶπον αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα. (St. John xviii. 31.)

authority this right which had been especially intrusted to himself,¹ and he was to pronounce sentence only after consultation with his council, — a sort of jury selected by the praetor from his cohort and from citizens residing in the province.

In the Graeco-Roman world the religious authority was almost always subordinated to the secular power.² The latter, it is true, was extremely tolerant on the subject of religious beliefs, scarcely concerning itself with them at all; but it chose to hold the priests in strict dependence, especially the higher orders of them, who were required to answer for their subordinates. In Judaea — and this right was exercised throughout all the provinces as well — the governors inheriting the royal prerogatives disposed of the high priesthood at their pleasure.³

IV. THE LEGATES AND THE QUAESTORS.

IN the performance of his official duties the governor of a province was assisted by a few subordinates. Of these, the first in dignity were the legates, whose number varied according to the importance of the province. They were selected by the pro-consul, but it was necessary that the choice should be ratified by the

¹ *Nec enim potest quis gladii potestatem sibi datam ad alium transferre.* (Ulpian, *Dig.* I. tit. xvi. § 6, pr.)

² See in the *Acts of the Apostles* xviii. 14, 15, the judgment of Gallio in the case of Saint Paul and the Jews. Even monotheism, with its open condemnation of the worship of idols, was permitted. (Tertull., *Apolog.* 21.) Druidism was proscribed, because it strove to awaken Gallie patriotism, and Tiberius threw the statue of Isis into the Tiber (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3, 4), by way of reparation to outraged morality. The Eastern religions were, besides, always objects of suspicion to the Senate. There was in them a spirit of proselytism, which, acting secretly, caused alarm to the government, who took these religious associations either for secret societies, which the Roman law forbade (*Dig.* xlvii. 22, fr. 1, 3), or for societies formed for the practice of vices, like the hideous sect of bacchanals discovered in 186. In respect to inoffensive forms of worship they had full security, and the governors of provinces were to protect their temples, property, and rights of asylum. (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 60–63.) Gaius says distinctly (*Inst.* ii. 7): . . . *quod in provinciis non ex auctoritate populi Romani consecratum est (quantum) proprie sacrum non est, tamen pro sacro habetur.* (Cf. Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 50, 52, iv. 49.) Later we shall see where and why the Christians were persecuted.

³ Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3, and in twenty other places. An officer of the government kept even, in the Fortress of Antonia, the ephod and sacred vestments of the high priest. (*Id.*, *Ibid.* 6.) In Italy, in respect to all that concerned worship, the cities were under the jurisdiction of Rome, *juris atque imperii Romani esse.* (Tac., *Ann.* iii. 71.) See in chap. xxxv. the decree in regard to the bacchanals.



ANCIENT AQUEDUCT AT CATANA.

Senate,¹ so that they were understood to hold their appointment from the state, and in virtue of this their persons were held inviolable during their term of service.² Their duties were not strictly defined, but in general they owed to their chief the support of their counsel and of their military skill. Ordinarily, he divided with them the administration of the province. In this case they ruled, each in his district, and under the control of the governor, to whom they referred all doubtful cases, — never exercising, however, the *jus necis*, which belonged only to the magistrate invested with the *merum imperium*. “In the Tarraconensis,” says Strabo, “the pro-consul has under his orders three legions and three lieutenants. One, with two legions, keeps guard over the Gallaeci, the Astures, and the Cantabri; another, with the third legion, over the entire coast as far as the Pyrenees; the third has under his jurisdiction the tribes established in the interior and upon the two banks of the Ebro. The consul himself passes the winter either at Tarragona or at Carthagera, and there administers justice. During the summer he goes on circuits to rectify abuses which may have crept into the administration.”³



INSIGNIA OF THE
QUAESTOR.⁴

Below the legates, or beside them, was the quaestor, specially charged with all the details of the financial administration. He received from the public treasury the sums necessary for the pay and subsistence of the troops, for whatever was bought in the province, and for the expenses of the Roman administration. Certain taxes not farmed out to the publicans were levied by him. The Romans did not understand the principle of the subdivision of

¹ The Senate determined their number. Thus, in 56, Caesar had ten (Cic., *ad Fam.* i. 7), Pompeius fifteen. (Plut., *Pomp.* 25.)

² *Adimere mandatum jurisdictionem licet proconsuli non autem inconsulto principe.* (Dig. I. tit. xvi. fr. 6, § 2.) No accusation could be received against them during the time that they were in service (Cic., *in Vat.* 14), and they must await the arrival of their successor.

³ iii. p. 166. He might establish his tribunal wherever it seemed best to him. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xx. 5.) Quadratus established his in the city of Lydda. Pliny says also: *In publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacarem.* (*Epist.* x. 85.) In very serious cases, or if it were a question involving personages of distinction, the governor sent the accused to Rome. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.* xx. 5, and *Bell. Jud.* ii. 7.)

⁴ Reverse of a Macedonian tetradrachm, very probably of the legate Sura, who was quaestor. The *subsellium*, or quaestor's seat, is represented, and a *cistus* destined to receive the money for distributions.

power, and therefore the quaestor, although his principal duty was the charge of the finances, might be called to all other duties; his experience and energy were at the service of the pro-consul, who employed him as judge, administrative officer, or general, as the exigency of the moment might require. Like the aediles at Rome, the quaestor had a jurisdiction of his own, and the right of issuing certain edicts.¹ At the end of the year, he made a report of his financial administration; and a Julian law required him to deposit at Rome in the *aerarium* a statement of receipts and expenses, besides leaving a copy of the same in two cities of the province. Sicily had two quaestors, one residing at Syracuse, the other at Lilybaeum.



INSIGNIA OF THE
QUAESTOR.²

V. OBLIGATIONS OF THE PROVINCIALS.

THE inhabitants of the provinces owed to their governors absolute obedience; to Rome, moreover, they owed a tribute, for the provinces were the estates of the Roman people, *quasi praedia populi Romani*.³ From the moment of conquest the Romans had appropriated all the royal domains, and sometimes the common lands, or even the whole territory, in cases where certain cities had by special courage and patriotism merited unusual severity from the victors. This land immediately became part of the domain of the Roman people, and fell under the same regulations.⁴ In respect to the lands left to the natives, their character was changed. By reason of the war, the inhabitants of the provinces, in lieu of ownership, had nothing left them but the possession of the soil;⁵ they were perpetual tenants, and the token

¹ The quaestor was not chosen by the governor, but was assigned to him by lot. (Cic., *ad Quint.* I. i. 3.) Nevertheless, the relations between the two were almost son and father. (Cic., *pro Planc.* ii.) The quaestor was *consulis particeps omnium rerum consiliorumque*. (Cic., *in Verr.* II. i. 15.) He had two lictors with the bundles of rods, but without the axes.

² ΟΥ (Α) ΠΙΟ ΣΤΑΜΙΑΣ. The *subsellium*, a wand, and the vase which received the coins, or *tesserae*, to be distributed among the people in a *congiarium*.

³ Cic., *in Verr.* II. iii. 18. Cf. *ibid.* ii. 3; and *de Offic.* iii. 21. He calls the people of the provinces the colonists of the Romans: *Cum illis sic agere, ut cum colonis nostris solemus*.

⁴ Livy, xxv. 28; Cic., *adv. Rullum*, ii. 21.

⁵ *In eo solo dominium populi Romani est . . . nos autem possessionem tantum et usum fructum habere videmur*. (Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 7; cf. Cic., *in Verr.* II. iii. 6; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 140.)

of this diminution of right was the tribute which the holders were obliged to pay to the real proprietor, the Roman people.¹

These contributions were of four kinds: the personal tax; the tax on land; duties and royalties; requisitions.

The personal tax was estimated upon the *census*, that is to say, upon each man's fortune.

The land tax, paid either in money² or in kind,³ was fixed at a tenth of the produce.⁴ This ratio seemed more favorable to those paying tribute, since, if Rome profited by good harvests, she incurred also all the risks of bad years; while, in the case of a money tax, the sum was fixed and must be paid, even though the land had given no return.⁵ The Roman citizen, holding lands in a province, paid the same tax as the provincials.⁶

There were requisitions of diverse sorts, some occasional, others permanent. Thus the people of a province must furnish to the magistrate who came to watch over their safety the corn necessary for his household, either directly, in which case the Senate fixed the quantity, or by a money tax; and again the Senate took care to determine in advance the price at which the corn should be reckoned.⁷ Sometimes, for the use of the armies, or in consequence of a bad harvest, the Senate required a second

¹ *Id autem imperium cum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam reddimat (Asia) atque otium.* (Cic., *ad Quint. I. i. 11.*)

² Cic., *in Verr. II. iii. 6.*

³ App., *Bell. civ. ii. 140.* Certain nations paid only a tenth: *Δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν*; and Cicero, enumerating the principal sources of revenue that the Roman people possessed in Asia, says frequently: *scriptura, decumae, portorium.* (*Pro Flacco*, 8; *pro lege Manilia*, 6.)

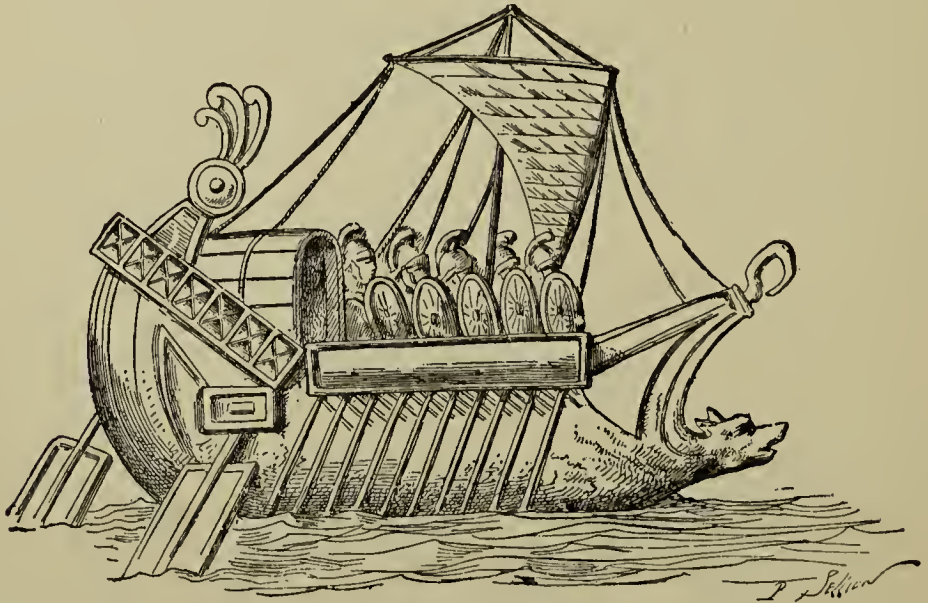
⁴ *Agri vectigales multas habent constitutiones. In quibusdam provinciis fructus partem praestant certam, alii quintas, alii septimas, alii pecuniam et hoc per soli aestimationem. Certa enim pretia agris constituta sunt, ut in Pannonia arvi primi, arvi secundi, prata, silvae glandiferae, silvae vulgares, pascua. His omnibus agris vectigal est ad modum ubertatis per singula jugera constitutum. Horum aestimio, ne qua usurpatio per falsas professiones fiat, adhibenda est mensuris diligentia. Nam et in Phrygia et tota Asia, ex hujus modi eausis tam frequenter disconvenit quam Pannonia.* Hygin., *de Limit. Constit.*, ed. Goes, p. 198. But these differences were not well established till after the register of Augustus.

⁵ App., *Bell. civ. v. 4.* But this was, however, the system which gave most opportunity for exactions; and Caesar was obliged to change it for a fixed tax. (App., *ib. v. 5*; Dion., *xlii. 6.*)

⁶ Cic., *in Verr. II. iii. 12.* *Tot Siculi tot equites Romani* (*ibid. 14*); *Septitio . . . equite Romano, affirmante se plus decuma non daturum* (*ibid. 25*, and *pro Flacco*, 32). The decree of the Senate giving liberty to Chios bears even: *Οἱ τε παρ' οὐτοῖς ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Χείων ὑπακούωσιν νόμοις.* (Boeckh., *Inscript. No. 2,222.*)

⁷ *Frumentum in eellam, and frumentum aestimatum.* (*In Verr. II. iii. 81-85.*)

tenth; but this was paid for.¹ If the governor judged it necessary to equip a fleet to protect his province against pirates, ships were to be built, sailors and soldiers furnished, all maintained and paid by the city which was under obligation to furnish them.² If an army was necessary, the province must furnish corn to feed it. The Senate paid for this contribution, but at a price of their own fixing, and the provincials were obliged to transport



SHIP EQUIPPED.

the corn to such points as suited the praetor's convenience. Huts for winter quarters were also due from them, and sometimes even auxiliaries for the legions.³

The Senate reserved for itself the mines of precious metals,

¹ Thus Cicero speaks of *frumentum emptum* as opposed to *frumentum decumanum*. (In *Verr.* II. iii. 81.) In three years Verres received 37,000,000 *sesterces* for the purchase of corn in Sicily at the expense of Rome. In provinces less fertile, the Senate required only a twentieth. (Cf. *Livy*, xxxvi. 2; xliii. 2; xlv. 31.)

² *Cic., in Verr.* II. v. 17, 24; *Philipp.* xi. 12. Miletus, for example, was required to have ten ships always ready for service. (*Cic., in Verr.* II. i. 34.) Messina owed one vessel; Syracuse made ready a number upon the order of Verres.

³ *Livy*, xxix. 1, xxxvi. 2; *Caesar, Bell. Gall.* i. 30; *Cic., in Verr.* II. v. 47. Thus Rome levied cavalry in Gaul (*Caes., ibid.* i. 15; *Plut., Crass.* 17; *Ant.* 37; *App., Bell. civ.* ii. 49, iv. 88), in Spain (*Plut., Ant.* 37; *Caes., ibid.* v. 26; *App., ibid.* i. 89), in Thrace (*Sall., Jug.* 38; *Plut., Luc.* 28; *Tac., Ann.* iv. 46), in Numidia (*Sall., Jug.* 68; *App., ibid.* i. 42). Crete and the Balearic Islands furnished famous archers and slingers. (*Livy, Ep.* lx.; *Sall., Jug.* 105; *App., ibid.* 249.) These auxiliaries were usually led by their native chiefs. (*Caes., Bell. Gall.* i. 18, viii. 12; *Bell. civ.* iii. 59.) *Noricorum juvenus* (*Tac., Hist.* iii. 5); *Raetica auxilia* (*ibid.* i. 67); *Raetorum juvenus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita* (*ibid.* 68). The Helvetii supported at their own expense a garrison in a strong castle. (*Tac., ibid.* i. 67.)

the quarries of marble, and even of certain other kinds of stone, the salt works, the fisheries, and the customs. These latter were of considerable importance; for Rome had maintained all the port-dues which she had found already existing. The duty in the harbor of Syracuse was 20 per cent *ad valorem*.¹

Still further, the money paid by private individuals for the right to send their flocks into the public pastures may be considered as a tax paid by the provinces, or at least as a source of revenue to the Roman people.²

VI. DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PROVINCIAL CITIES.

THE fundamental rule of Roman policy in relation to the vanquished was to divide the populations by diversifying the conditions of political existence bestowed upon nations, cities, and even individuals. By creating new interests, the Senate strove to efface the recollection of former independence; they separated what had been united, and united what had been separated, and made degrees in servitude, causing the yoke to weigh unequally, so that the different nations should not be by a common oppression united against the foreign ruler.³ *Divide et impera!* No people ever more skilfully practised this maxim, and in the case of none was it ever more conspicuously successful.

Each province, far from forming a homogeneous whole, had

¹ The Senate undertook directly the working of certain mines, and farmed out others where work had been already begun. The silver mines of Carthagera produced in the time of Polybius (xxxiv. 9, 8) an amount equal to 25,000 drachmae a day, and 40,000 laborers were employed there. An ancient decree of the Senate prohibited the working of the Italian mines; notwithstanding this, the censors farmed out a gold mine near Vercellae, on condition that not over 5,000 men should be employed in it. The mines of Asturia, Lusitania, and Gallicia gave annually in the time of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 21) 20,000 pounds weight of gold. Caesar farmed out in Crete the whetstone quarries, *cotorias locaret*. (*Dig.* XXXIX. tit. v. fr. 13.) There were mines of precious metals in Macedon, but Paulus Aemilius forbade the working of them, but permitted it in the case of the iron and copper mines. In regard to the port-dues, see Cicero, in *Verr.* II. ii. 70, 75, and *pro lege Manilia*, 6. Being in Cilicia, he recommends to Atticus to send his letters *per magistros scripturae et portus nostrarum diocesum*. His brother Quintus had allowed the publicans in Asia to levy the *portorium circumvectionis*, custom paid on transporting goods: this Cicero declares was not due (*ad Att.* ii. 16).

² Festus, s. v. *Scriptuarius*.

³ Ῥωμαίων . . . οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκάστοις χρωμένων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν συνέχειν, τοὺς δὲ καταλύειν βουλομένων. (Strabo, viii. 385.)

two classes of inhabitants, — the *tributaries*, subject to the sovereign will of the governor, while still retaining their particular institutions; and the *privileged*, who were, so to speak, placed outside of the province, and, in consequence, withdrawn from the action of the Roman magistrate.¹ The latter consisted also of several subdivisions, collected into two great categories, — the cities having a Roman organization, and those preserving their national constitution; the former more numerous in the West, the latter chiefly existing in the East.

1. The *Roman colonies*. They had citizenship, that is to say, all the legal rights of the Roman *jus*, but not quiritarian ownership; for provincial soil could not be raised to the same dignity with Italian, or possess like prerogatives,² of which the chief was the exemption from tribute.³ The colonists, being citizens *pleno jure*, exercised all rights as such during their sojourn in Rome, and might obtain the honors of their rank, that is to say, all public offices.

2. The *municipia*, whose inhabitants, *cives sine suffragio*, while retaining their own laws, enjoyed at Rome the prerogatives of the Roman citizen, except that they could not vote in the comitia, and could not aspire to public office. These cities were regarded as ranking below the colonies, and are always named after them by Pliny.⁴

3. The *Latin colonies*, whose magistrates, at the expiration of their term of office, were eligible for Roman citizenship.⁵ The inhabitants of these colonies had the *jus commercii*, that is, the right

¹ Strabo says (iv. 187) of Nismes: "It has the Latin law." Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῖς προστάγμασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν ἐστι τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο.

² *Provinciale solum nec mancipi est* (Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 27; see in chap. xxxvi.) . . . *Provincialia praedia usucapionem non recipiunt* (Id., *ibid.* 46); these colonies were not at liberty to organize at their own pleasure. *Jura institutaque omnia populi Romani non sui arbitrii habent.*

³ There has been much discussion whether colonies of Roman citizens established in the provinces were subjected to the *tributum soli*. I have no hesitation in affirming that they were not, one reason for my opinion being that neither Caesar nor Augustus would have invented a new right, the *jus Italicum*, if it had not already existed in the Roman colonies of the provinces.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.* ii. 4, 25, seq.; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xvi. 13: *Quae tamen conditio (coloniarum), eum sit magis obnoxia et minus libera, potior tamen et praestabilior existimatur propter amplitudinem majestatemque populi Romani, cujus istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulaeraque esse quaedam videntur.* Colonies have been known to seek to be changed into *municipia*, on account of this first reason; for example, the Praenestines in the time of Tiberius: *Ut ex colonia in municipii statum redigerentur.* (Aulus Gellius, *ibid.* xvi. 13.)

⁵ Cf. Vol. I., p. 482.

to acquire and transmit quiritarian ownership;¹ but they had not the *jus connubii*, which would have given the *patria potestas*, or power of the Roman father over all his descendants. When they resided at Rome, they voted in a tribe to which they were assigned by lot.²



TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EVORA (FORMER LIBERALITAS JULIA).

4. The allied cities, *foederatae*,³ such as Messina, Massilia, Gades, Sparta, Athens, etc., who had concluded with Rome a

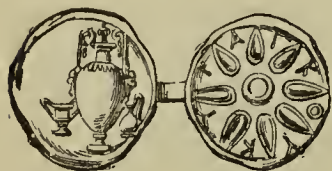
¹ By *usucapio*, *in jure cessio*, *mancipatio*, *vindicatio*, and the *testamenti factio*. Later, under the Empire there rose another class of cities, having the *jus Italicum*, which were exempt from the land tax, because their soil was assimilated to that of Italy.

² Livy, xxv. 3.

³ They were bound to furnish, in case of need, auxiliaries, ships, and in Sicily a part of the *frumentum imperatum*. Cf. Cic., *in Verr.* II. v. 21. We may also name *Tauromenium* in Sicily; *Tarragona* (Pl., *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3) and *Malaca* in Spain; the *Vocontii*, the *Lingones*, the *Remi*, the *Aedui*, and the *Carnutes*, in Gaul; *Athens* in Greece; *Rhodes* and *Tyre* in Asia; *Amisus* in Bithynia; *Utica* in Africa; etc., etc. These cities, which had contracted a solemn alliance with Rome, by a formal treaty engraved on bronze in the Capitol and read publicly every year (Boeckh., *Inscr.* No. 2,485), were the most truly independent in their internal administration of all that were comprised in the Roman provinces. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.* x. 94.

treaty on equal terms,¹ or an agreement implying an obligation to recognize the supremacy of the Roman people.

5. The *free cities*, having, like the allied cities, all the external show of independence, their own laws and entire jurisdiction, but holding this liberty by the good pleasure of Rome, and from a decree of the Senate, instead of retaining it in virtue of a treaty;² these cities owed to the Roman treasury a fixed tribute in money, the *stipendium*. Corcyra, the Adriatic station for Rome's naval forces, was free, but a coarse proverb marks what this liberty³



COIN OF CORCYRA.⁵

was worth. These cities were very numerous; they are found everywhere except in Sardinia.⁴

6. The cities exempt from taxation, *immunes*.⁶

We also find cities uniting several of these designations at the same time, being at once colonies and free, colonies and exempt, free and allies.

¹ Justin, xliii. 5: *aequo jure percutsum*.

² App., *Bell. civ.* i. 102.

³ Ἐλευθέρα Κόρκυρα, χέξ' ὅπου θέλεις. (Strab., vii. 329, fr. 8.) In respect to political matters, this liberty was of no value; but we shall see elsewhere that it was very considerable as concerning the interior administration.

⁴ Cic., *pro Scauro*, 15. They were released from the onerous obligation of providing winter quarters. *Plebisc. de Thermens.* lig. 45: *Ne quis magistratus . . . milites . . . hiemandi causa introducito*. They retained their own laws and magistrates, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις (Polybius, xviii. 29), and the pro-consul was not to encroach upon their jurisdiction: *Omitto jurisdictionem in libera civitate contra leges senatusque consulta*. (Cic., *de Prov. cons.* 3.)

⁵ Three vases (*amphora cantharus prochus*) of different shapes. On the reverse, ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙ, between the spokes of a wheel (or the rays of a star). Triobol of Coreyra.

⁶ *Immunity* by no means followed the concession of *liberty*. Thus, in 168, the Macedonians are declared free, but must pay tribute. (Livy, xlv. 29, 32.) Many Illyrian tribes, on the other hand, received, besides liberty, immunity. (Id., *ibid.* 26.) Caesar granted the same favor to the Atrebates (*Bell. Gall.* vii. 6), Claudius to the inhabitants of Ilium, Antouinus to those of Pallantium (Pausan., viii. 43; cf. Boeckh., *Corp. Inscr.* No. 3,610, and note). This was at that time the *immunitas plenissima*. Cf. Callistratus, in the *Dig.* xxvii. 1, 17, § 1. Antioch was free, but in addition, Caracalla gave to the city the title of colony, but *salvis tributis*. (*Dig.* l. 15, fr. 8, § 5.) I have said that these favored cities were regarded as outside of the province; this expression, however, must not be understood too literally, for the Romans would not have so understood it. Tarsus, a free city, was the residence of the governor of Cilicia, and a place where he administered justice; Panormus, in Sicily, was the same, notwithstanding its title of *civitas libera*. It is true that in this case the city had its own jurisdiction also. Sallust says (*Jug.* 31): *Indignabamini aerarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere*; and Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 102) says that in the time of Sylla nations and kings, friends or allies, and not merely the tributary cities, but also the allied cities with whom Rome had made treaty, granting them liberty and immunity, now all paid tribute and owed obedience, πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν. Immunity released even from paying the tenth, at least in Sicily (Cic., *in Verr.* II. ii. 69, iii. 6, v. 21), and from certain onerous obliga-

Thus Patrae (Patras) had the right of citizenship when it became a Roman colony. Furthermore, it was free, because, a great number of the people of the country having come into it, it appeared to be severe and impolitic to subject it, as was done in the case of all colonies, to the civil laws of Rome. By the concession of liberty, the city had the right to organize in accordance with its own ideas. These colonies, however, paid the land tax and the personal tax,¹ unless specially exempt by grant of *immunitas*,² or later, by the concession of the *jus Italicum*, which gave to the provincial soil one of the essential attributes of the Italian, namely, the exemption from property tax.

Certain cities, finally, had a patron at Rome, such as were the Marcelli for Sicily, the Catos for Cyprus, etc., or ties of hospitality with some noble personage, and could count in all



SARCOPHAGUS FROM PATRAE.³

cases upon his powerful interposition. This was an advantage, at times onerous, and not, however, furnishing a distinct political situation, except in cases where a city had contracted these ties with Rome herself.⁴

tions, like that in respect to winter quarters. (*Plebiscit. de Thermens.* i. 45–55.) Furthermore, the immunity was personal, not territorial: *Halicynenses, quorum incolae decumas dant, ipsi agros immunes habent.* (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 40.) The *incola* is the individual resident in a city, but not a citizen of it. When the state called for the double tithe from a province, the cities which were *liberae* and *immunes* were obliged to furnish corn at a fixed price. Cic., in *Verr.* II. iv. 9; iii. 73.) Strabo, speaking of the Eleuthero-Laconians, says (viii. 365): *πλήν τῶν φιλικῶν λειτουργιῶν ἄλλο συντελοῦντες οὐδέν.*

¹ *Dig.*, l. tit. 15, fr. 8, § 7.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3, 4.

³ Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie min.*, pl. 93, fig. 1.

⁴ *Hospitium privatum, hospitium publicum.* (Livy, i. 49; v. 50.) Caere is the only instance we are able to name of "public hospitality" with Rome. At the same time it is certain that this relation was often established with the cities or tribes on the frontiers, for the *Digest* speaks of it as a habitual condition. *Si cum gente aliqua neque amicitiam, neque hospitium, neque foedus, amicitiae causa factum, habemus* (xlix. tit. 15, § 4, 9, 2). In respect to patrons, they are referred to in countless inscriptions.

These cities prized distinctions as the men of that time prized personal honors. Among the cities in a province, there were ranks, and consequent precedence.

There was not merely difference between cities, but also between fellow-citizens of the same city; for the right of Roman citizenship, Latin rights, immunity and liberty might be granted, with hereditary succession, to families or to individuals.¹

Thus, a Liparaean having saved the life of some deputies sent into Greece by the Senate, his descendants, when, about a century and a half later, Rome made the conquest of their island, were declared exempt from all tribute.

We have not completed an enumeration of all the conditions of the subject. Rome willingly conferred her citizenship on the provincials,² but by degrees. Thus it was possible to have Roman citizenship, but without the right of aspiring to public office.³ To become a Roman citizen, an Egyptian must first be made a citizen of Alexandria.⁴ Again, this distinction existed among subject cities, that to some more favored their lands had been left or restored on payment of a certain royalty, the tenth (*civitates decumanæ*);⁵ while to others less fortunate the royalty was a variable sum,⁶ the collecting of which was farmed out by the censors (*civitates censoriæ*).⁷

The province, it will be seen, was far from forming a homogeneous whole. Still further, the provinces differed from one another, their position towards Rome not being the same. We

¹ Diodorus, xii. 39. As regards citizenship, examples abound everywhere. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 3.) Josephus had obtained from Titus ἀτέλειαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ μέγιστη τιμὴ τῶ λαβόντι. (Jos., *Vita*, 76.)

² *Stipendiarios ex Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia, caeteris provinciis multos civitate donatos videmus* (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 9) . . . *singillatim*. (Id., *Phil.* ii. 37.)

³ Tac., *Ann.* xi. 23-25.

⁴ Plin., *Epist.* x. 22. This obligation was imposed by Octavius.

⁵ Cic. in *Verr.* II. iii. 6.

⁶ Cic., in *Rull.* i. 4.

⁷ *Is ager a censoribus locari solet*. (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6.) Sicily had three allied cities, five free and exempt cities, thirty-four cities paying tithes, and about twenty-five whose dues were farmed out by the censors (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6); Sardinia had only cities paying the *stipendiarium* (Cic., *pro Scauro*, ii. 44); Corsica, two colonies (Sen., *ad Helv.* 8); the Tarraconensis, after Augustus, twelve colonies, thirteen *municipia* with right of Roman citizenship, eighteen with the *jus Latii*, one allied city, 135 paying *stipendiarium*, and 293 other cities or villages depended on them; Baetica, nine colonies, eight *municipia*, twenty-nine Latin cities, six free cities, three allied, and 120 paying *stipendiarium*. (Pl., *Hist. Nat.* iii. 1.)

have already seen that some had a governor of higher, and others of lower rank. The privileges of which we have just spoken had moreover been dispensed through each province in varying manner; their municipal institutions had nothing in common, and as their rights differed, their obligations also varied. It is not possible to determine what each paid to Rome, but it is clear they neither paid similar sums, nor in the same manner.

Thus Gaul and Macedon seem to have given only a fixed sum.¹ Most of the cities of Carthaginian Africa,² Egypt,³ Syria and Cilicia⁴ paid capitation taxes even for women, and in Egypt, as it seems, for slaves. This last province was later charged with feeding the Roman people for four months.⁵ Sicily and Sardinia paid their tithes in kind, and Sardinia besides paid a tribute according to property.⁶ Africa and Spain bought back their harvests at a price which never varied, whatever might have been the inclemency of the season.⁷ Asia and Greece paid the land tax.

It was difficult to introduce as much variety into the method of collecting the tax. The tax-gatherer must be either Roman or native. The Senate authorized the Spaniards,⁸ Caesar permitted the Asiatics,⁹ and Paulus Aemilius the Macedonians, to make their own collections. In Greece,¹⁰ in Asia before Caesar's time,¹¹ and in Sicily the tax-gatherers were publicans, who had bought

¹ *Vectigal certum quod stipendiarium dicitur.* (Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6.) Macedon gave in this way a hundred talents—about \$100,320 (Plut., *Aemilius*, 28); Gaul, forty million sesterces—about \$1,440,000 (Suet., *Caes.* 25; Eutrop., vi. 17).

² App., *Lib.* 135. In Africa the tax was ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως.

³ Jos., *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. The tribute was more than 12,000 talents. (Str., xvii. 798.)

⁴ App., *Syr.* 50. The tribute was one per cent of the valuation. Cicero, *ad Att.* v. 16: *imperata ἐπι κεφάλαια.* *Ad Fam.* iii. 8: *acerbissima exactio capitum et ostiorum.*

⁵ Jos., *Bell. Jud.* iv. 10, 5.

⁶ Livy, xxiii. 32; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 18; Hirtius, *de Bell. Afr.* 98. Some have understood Cicero to place Sicily in the same category (in *Verr.* II. ii. 53). *Omnes Siculi ex censu quotannis tributa conferunt* (Id., *ibid.* 55, 56). But here we must understand by *tributa* the tax necessary to pay the expenses of the town, levied upon the citizens. In his oration *pro Flacco*, 9, Cicero again uses the word *tributa*, clearly to designate the private revenues of cities. This is also the view taken by Huschke, *Ueber den Census und die Steuerverfassung*, p. 8.

⁷ Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6.

⁸ Livy, xliii. 2.

⁹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4: Ὑμῶν τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων.

¹⁰ Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, iii. 19.

¹¹ Cic., in *Verr.* II. iii. 6; *ad Quint.* i. 10; *ad Att.* i. 17.

at Rome the right of collecting the tributes. In Sicily, certain tithes, those of wine and oil and of small crops, were farmed out, before the time of Verres, by the quaestors in the island itself.

When the Romans had conquered Latium, they prohibited all trade between the Latin cities. The same prohibition was laid upon the Macedonians, when they were distributed into four districts after the fall of Perseus; upon Illyria, divided into three cantons, which were to remain absolute strangers to each other;¹ upon Achaea, after the fall of Corinth.² An expression used by Cicero shows that everywhere the same policy was pursued: "Diócles of Panormus," he says, "had hired a field in the territory of Segesta, for between those cities there was a right of trading."³ The *jus commercii*, therefore, was the exception, and the prohibition was the rule, since the orator was obliged to explain how the inhabitants of one city could occupy land belonging to another city. It is true the two cities were free, that is to say, they were two so-called independent states; but this class of cities were very numerous, and it cannot be doubted that their independence was often limited in this respect. The Roman citizen, being able to buy and sell everywhere, found it too much for his advantage to be free from rival enterprises, for the Senate not to multiply these prohibitions.

The province, divided internally as we have seen, had no bond of union with adjacent provinces. They were a foreign land, — *aliena*. Thus a person might be exiled from his province.⁴ The pro-consul who crossed the boundaries of his province incurred the charge of treason; and a city — at least this was the case in Bithynia by the Pompeian law — could not give to the inhabitant of another province the right of citizenship.⁵ These prohibitions accorded so well with the narrow spirit of the ancient municipalities, that they were accepted without resistance.

Since feudalism, that is to say, the reign of the castles, has passed over modern societies, the country is separated from the city. A city now has but a narrow belt of suburbs surrounding

¹ Livy, xlv. 26, 29.

² Pausan., vii. 16.

³ Cic., in Verr. II. iii. 40.

⁴ Suet., Claud., 23; Pliny, Ep., x. 64; Tac., Ann. xv. 20. This is the same with the French *internement*.

⁵ *Non civitatis alienae*. (Plin., Epist. x. 115.)

it; formerly it had a province. At the present day the well-to-do class and a large proportion of the working class live and die in the city. A whole life is spent there, because there is trade, industry, intellectual activity, all the resources and all the pleasures of civilization. Among the ancients life was spent in the country in the rude labors of agriculture,—the only industry with which they were acquainted,—and in the solitude which such an existence imposes. At the same time there was need of a place of refuge in case of invasion, of gathering for the discussion of common interests, a fortress and a public square, the capitol and the forum, the acropolis and the agora. This was the city, usually placed upon a height easily susceptible of defence. This fortified enclosure (*urbs*, ἄστυ) formed, with the territory dependent upon it, the city (*civitas*, πόλις).

It is in many cases difficult to draw the dividing line so as to avoid, on the one hand, coming down to a lifeless atom, or, on the other, leaving a whole which is both heterogeneous and cumbersome by its bulk. The [French] *commune* is too small; France has 36,000 of them. But the Roman city was too large; in Gallia Comata, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, there were only sixteen. They were really small states, with a complicated administration, including many secondary cities,¹ with a budget, magistrates for taking of the census, for the administration of justice, for the superintendence of public works, of police, of public health, of all the interests of the city and of the territory, and ready, upon the withdrawal of the hand which kept the peace among them, to arm their militia and send them out against

¹ Nismes had dependent upon her twenty-four towns. (Strabo, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 5.) A hundred and seventy-nine cities of the Tarraconensis possessed 293 villages. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 3.) The towns of the Carni, in the Carnic Alps, were in the jurisdiction of Tergeste (Zumpt, *Decretum municipale Tergestinum*); Calatia was dependent upon Capua, Caudium upon Beneventum. (Becker and Marquardt, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterth.* iii. 3.) This was the Greek principle: for example, there was but one city in Attica and one in Laconia, though in these two provinces there were many towns. Accordingly, the Greeks often used the name of the city for that of the territory. These secondary places, *loci*, were called in Italy, *fora*, *conciliabula*, *vici*, *castella*. The principal places were generally called *municipia* or *oppida*. Where there were no cities, the country was set off into *pagi*, as in Pannonia, or into *regiones*, as in Maesia, both being again subdivided into *vici*. (Becker, *ibid.*) It would appear from the Julian law (*tabula Heracleensis*) that only inhabitants of *municipia*, colonies, or praefectures, might be raised to the duumvirate or the quatuorvirate, the highest municipal offices (lines 15, 21, 24), but that the people living in the *fora* or the *conciliabula* could aspire to the decurionate (lines 35, 45, 50, 54, 56, 61, 63).

their neighbors, whom they loved no better than great states are wont to love those whose frontiers touch their own.¹

If this municipal organization left the governor little to do, unless he had the inclination to interfere in everything, it made the Roman Empire, instead of a homogeneous people, a union of little states, most of them living under different conditions. Wrapped about and held in restraint by the administration above them, these cities will remain united only so long as the binding force holds firm; as soon as it is weakened, all ties will break, and the barbarians, few in number though they are, will subjugate, one after another, these nations, which, having never had sentiments and interests in common, will not in the decisive moment be able to make common stock of their resources and their courage.

VII. PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES.

BETWEEN the state and the commune, even if the latter were not reduced to its present insignificant proportions, there was needed an intermediate division, a political representation of the province itself. There ought, therefore, to have been below the formidable government, whose seat was Rome, and above the humble and timid magistrates of the cities, men who could speak in the name of the province, — that is to say, in the name of an important interest which the Government was bound to treat with respect. Assemblies thus composed might no doubt have become embarrassing to the power of Rome, but they would have restrained its excesses. The institution would doubtless have been a good one; but was it possible?

The ancients were not so ignorant of the representative system

¹ See in Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 65) the bitter hate existing between Lugdunum and Vienna, who attacked each other the instant that the troubles of the Empire permitted them to do so with impunity, and the bloody combat between the people of Nuceria and of Puteoli (*Id.*, *Ann.* xiv. 17). Cicero, in a passage already cited (*ad Quint.* I. i. 11), shows all these little states ready to tear each other in pieces if Rome did not impose peace upon them. Tyre and Sidon had been free, and Augustus was obliged to deprive them of liberty (18 B. C.), on account of the seditions which desolated them. (*Dion Cassius*, lxiv. 7.) Nero restores to the Greeks their liberty, and they at once return to their civil wars, — 'Ες ἐμφύλιον στάσιν προήχθησαν. (*Pausan.*, vii. 17, 4.) Vespasian, therefore, replaces them under the authority of a governor, saying that they have forgotten how to be free. (*Id.*, *ibid.*)

as they have been said to be.¹ The Greek race, it is true, were never willing to emerge from their little cities² and form a great state; yet its tribes never lost sight of their fraternal origin, and in token of this common blood they had certain national institutions, in which religion, art, and pleasure had more share, no doubt, than politics, but which formed a tie between the members of the Hellenic family. The Amphictyons at Delphi were not always limited to affairs of the temple, and the Lycians had a genuine parliament, — a wise people, “whose twenty-three cities,” says Strabo, “sent deputies to an assembly held in a designated place. The most important of the cities sent three deputies; those next in rank two; and the humblest one. They contributed in a like proportion to the public expenses. . . . The assembly begins by naming a chief of the confederation; it then proceeds to the appointment of the other officers of the Lycian body. It appoints also the judges of all the tribunals. Formerly peace and war and alliances were determined in the same assembly; but this cannot now be done save by the consent of the Romans, who accord permission only for deliberations concerning local interests. The number of magistrates and judges named by each city is in proportion to the number of votes it controls.”³

The Lycian body was not an isolated instance. Greece, which had been the great political school of the world, desired, after passing through all phases, and as if to leave nothing untried, also to make the essay of representative government.⁴ Commenced

¹ Concerning the ideas spread abroad in the ancient world in respect to a mixed and balanced government, see Cicero, *de Rep.* i. 45; Tac., iv. 33.

² In Greece, exclusive of the islands, have been counted ninety-nine distinct states, thirty of which were free under the emperors. (Kuhn, *Beiträge z. Verfass. des Röm. Reichs*, pp. 125–129.)

³ Strabo, xiv. 665. [See the interesting account of this constitution in Freeman's *Federal Government*, i. 208. — *Ed.*] Caria was organized in the same manner. “The cantons having the most towns have also,” he says, “the most votes in the general assembly; their association is known under the name of Chrysaoreon.” (Id., *ibid.* 660.) “If we want an example of a noble federative republic,” says Montesquieu, “I will indicate the Republic of Lycia.” (*Espr. des Lois*, ix. 3.) I cite Montesquieu, for Lycia came to a bad end (Dion., lx. 17; Suet., *Claud.* 25), and her institutions have been held responsible. See also Strabo, xiii. 631, concerning the tetrapolis of Phrygia, and Gruter (*Inscr.* No. 2,056) for the pentapolis formed by Odessus, Mesembria, Tomi, Istriani, and Apollonia.

⁴ [Mr. Freeman has shown (*Fed. Govt.* i. 266, *seq.*) with what limitations this statement should be introduced. Practically, because only rich and idle men attended the meetings, the government was representative; but every free Achæan had a right to go and to vote. — *Ed.*]

too late, and amidst unfavorable conditions, the attempt failed. However, the brilliancy which the Achaean League cast over the last days of Greece gave this system a durable popularity. When the conquest was completed and secured, Rome left her new subjects to re-unite one after another the bonds which she had carefully broken. Everywhere confederations were re-formed; and if politically these new leagues had not even the shadow of liberty, yet they preserved the memory of it; and its reality might any day reappear under the forms which for the moment were but a deceitful show.¹



COIN OF PERGAMUS.²

Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamean Asia had general assemblies, which were held successively in the principal cities of the province. Upon a coin of Pergamus is the temple of Rome and of Augustus with this legend, *Com-munitas Asiae*. Caesar gathered at Tarsus deputies from all the cities of Cilicia.³ Mention is also made in the *Digest* of assemblies of Thracians and assemblies of Thessalians held at Larissa; in the code, of a general priesthood or superintendence of the games of Syria and Phoenicia; in the medals and inscriptions of the province of Asia, of a supreme pontiff, ἀρχιερεύς; and of a president of the sacred games, Ἀσιάρχης, chosen by deputies of the entire province, κοινὸν Ἀσίας.⁴ At these meetings the deputies took a certain order, determined by the rank

¹ The Ionians of the thirteen cities of Ionia (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* ii. 508, and Strabo, xiv. 639) always met at the Panionium, the Achaeans at Aegium (Pausan., vii. 27), the Boeotians at Coronea (Boeckh., *Corp. Inscr.* i. p. 5 of the Introduction); the League of the Phocians subsisted (Pausan., x. 5), as well as the Amphictyonic Council. (Id., *ibid.* 8.) Hadrian instituted at Athens, in the Panhellenion, an assembly of all the Greeks. (Müller, *Aeginet.* p. 152, *seq.*; Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr.* No. 385; and Ahrens, *de Athen. statu.*)

² COM(munitas) ASI(ac). Fortune standing, crowning Claudius in a bi-columnar temple consecrated to Rome and to Augustus, the first letters of which names are upon the pediment, ROM. ET AVG. Reverse of a silver coin of Claudius.

³ *Ciliciae civitates omnes Tarsum evocat . . . ibi rebus omnibus provinciae et finitimarum civitatum constitutis . . .* (Hirt., *Bell. Alex.* 69.)

⁴ These provincial assemblies were formed of σύνεδροι, or deputies sent by each people, as we have seen in the case of Lyeia, as Livy (xlv. 32) says in respect to Macedonia: *Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium; pronuntiatum quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos synedros vocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio respublica administraretur.* ("In regard to the high priest, ἀρχιερεύς, he belongs to the imperial epoch, and was the provincial chief of the worship of Rome and Augustus, which was the official religion of the Roman Empire." — Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, sect. v. No. 885.) The *patroni provinciarum* at Rome represented also the unity of the province. (Cf. Orelli, n. 529, 3,058, 3,063, 3,661, etc.)

of their cities, some coming first, like Ephesus and Pergamus, others in the seventh rank, like Magnesia in Ionia.



VOTIVE COLUMN OF THE DIOSCURI FOUND AT LARISSA.¹

Testimony to this effect is abundant during the imperial period; but the usage was ancient, and anterior to the Roman conquest. Indeed it has been shown in the course of this history

¹ In the centre, a festal couch for the divine guests; in front, a table, with sacred cakes, a priest making a libation, a woman raising her right hand towards the gods, whom she invokes, and the Dioscuri going by at a gallop in the sky; beneath them, Fortune, bearing a crown for those offering the sacrifice; below, the inscription: "To the great gods," — a name often given to Castor and Pollux, — "Danaa, daughter of [I]thoneite[s]." (Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 419 and pl. xxv.) This votive column is in the Louvre.

that all the Italian races had similar assemblies, that the Romans took part in the Latin *feriae*, and that at one time a proposition was made that the allied cities should be allowed to elect two senators to sit at Rome with the Conscript Fathers of the Republic. These ideas, therefore, were not foreign to the Roman mind, and were carried with the Roman domination into those western regions where they had germinated spontaneously.



IONIAN COIN.¹



COIN OF MAGNESIAN
IONIA.²

Caesar will presently convoke the deputies of Further Spain at Cordova, and of Nearer Spain at Tarragona. In Gaul he will call together every year the States-General of the country, and Augustus will assemble about him the deputies of the provinces through which he journeys. Before their time, Sertorius, in the Iberian peninsula, had pursued the same course.

Respecting the rights of these assemblies we know but little. In the West, Julius and Augustus Caesar seem to have given them a political character by consulting them upon affairs of importance; in the East, they appear to have had, at least for the time with which our documents are concerned, authority only in matters of religion.³ We find the assembly of pro-consular Asia meeting in 165 A. D. in Upper Phrygia and appointing the asiarchs,

¹ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ (the Pergamean Ephesians [being] the first of Asia). Hercules seated and Diana standing, her quiver on the ground; beneath, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΩΝ (the community [association] of thirteen cities), and ΠΡΟ ΜΗΧΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ (being pro-curator [or pro-consul], Marcus Claudius Fronto). On other coins he is *asiarch*. The thirteen cities composing this community were Miletus, Ephesus, Erythrae, Clazomenae, Priene, Phocaea, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Myus, the two islands Samos and Chios, to which was added later Smyrna. Why are the Pergameans named in this inscription? No one can say. The cut represents the reverse of a very rare bronze of Antoninus, struck in Ionia. (Note of M. de Sauley.)

² ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ (the people of Magnesia, seventh city of the province of Asia). Bacchus, a child, upon the mystic cist, surrounded by a wreath. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ionian Magnesia, of Gordian III.

³ In the inscriptions of Orelli, No. 3,144, we find a *praetor Hetruriae xv. populorum*. In No. 2,182 mention is made of the *sacra Etruriae*, and the Latin games lasted until the fourth century. (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. 21.) *Pacarius, vocatis principibus insulae (Corsicae), consilium aperit*. (Tac., *Hist.* ii. 16.) United Sicily, *communis Sicilia*, decrees that statues shall be erected to Verres. (Cic., in *Verr.* II. ii. 59, 63.)

from whose number the Roman governor selected the one who should fill the very honorable but ruinous office of supreme pontiff for the entire province: a passage in Strabo proves the extreme antiquity of this usage.¹

There was certainly in these essentially popular customs a germ which might have been developed, to the great profit of the provinces and the Empire; but these assemblies were allowed to subsist, obscure and useless, so that the provincial government lacked the counterpoise which might so easily have been given it. If this idea be criticised, we may rejoin that history is by no means designed simply to register what has been done and to applaud it; that Rome, in becoming a world, was bound to suffer transformation, and that for a dominion so vast, one of two forms of government became inevitable,—either that which she did in fact adopt; namely, the absolute power of the ruler, subordinating the prosperity of the Empire to all the accidents of royal births, to all the hazards of an election in the barracks,—or else a close union between Rome and her provinces by the effective participation of the latter in the general administration. Doubtless an organization like this would have shocked the old Roman prejudices; but a great state cannot be founded without forethought. Julius and Augustus Caesar had this forethought for a brief time in Gaul. The Senate might have carried it everywhere; for with these assemblies, which existed everywhere, it would have been easy to unite counsel and action, to submit arbitrary will to control, and put a bridle upon power. Such a constitution Rome herself had with her Senate and consuls; it was a question of giving it to her subjects, and then binding the provinces fast to Rome by granting to their assemblies what Spurius Carvilius had



VEILED PONTIFF
CLOTHED IN A LONG
ROBE.²

¹ Aristides, *Orat.* xxvi. 344–346; Strab., xiv. 649. This is a very high dignity, says Philostratus (*Sophist. vitae*, lib. i. § 212), but very costly, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν χρημάτων. The asiarchs had the superintendence of the sacred games of the province; there were also asiarchs for the solemnities of the cities.

² Silver statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,874 of the catalogue. See in Vol. II. p. 45, a bronze figurine almost similar, giving exactly the Roman pontifical costume.

asked, after the great massacre at Cannae, for the citizens of the Italian cities.¹ The question well deserved to be studied and determined, for had the Empire been better organized, there would have been no Middle Ages.²

The Roman Catholic clergy well understood the importance of this machinery for establishing over immense districts a community of interests and beliefs. They imitated with their synods of bishops these provincial assemblies, so that if the latter did not bring the representative system into the state, we may at least say that they aided in introducing it into the religious body. The Church crowned this work of deep sagacity by establishing above the provincial synod a supreme Senate, the œcumenical council; and this double institution long secured unity to its faith, its discipline, and its empire. What Christian Rome knew how to do, why could not Pagan Rome have done? Roman pride and the interests of two hundred families, whom we shall see in the last century of the Republic living upon the plunder of the whole world, did not permit it.

It is only fair, however, to recognize that the solution here indicated would have been extremely difficult in the face of those fatalities of education, of historic conditions and of hereditary prejudices which in all time reduce to a minimum true largeness of mind. The province, which never even succeeded in making itself recognized as a civil entity, capable of action and ownership, remained nothing more than a territorial division; and its governors, who regarded their appointment as a sentence of exile³ when they did not regard it as a means of repairing a fortune, ruined by pleasure or by the purchase of an office, found themselves surrounded by weakness and servility; for there was nowhere that union which gives strength, or that dignity which springs from

¹ See Vol. II. p. 4, the proposition of Carvilius in 216, and Vol. I. p. 417, the request of the Latin prætors in the year 340. Elsewhere we shall further consider this question of municipal and provincial organization.

² The Greeks of Asia were so far from being destitute of the desire to organize, that they had given numerical rank to their cities; some were *metropoles* and first, others second, seventh, etc. Thus Ephesus was *πρώτη πασῶν* (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* ii. 521); Magnesia was *ἑβδόμη τῆς Ἀσίας* (Id., *ibid.* 527); Aspendus *τρίτη τῶν ἐκεῖ* (Cilicia). (Philostrat., *Vita Apoll.* i. 15.) Unfortunately, all this was only a matter of vanity, and this organization only regulated precedence at the games and feasts of the province. (Cf. Eckhel, *ibid.* iv. 288.)

³ See Cicero, *ad Att.* ii. 16, and all his letters dated from Cilicia.

the consciousness of possessing rights which ought to be and can be maintained.

Plutarch, in speaking of the Asiatic races, uses a strong expression, — “people,” he says, “who never can say No.” From one end to the other of the vast domains of the Republic, save in those inaccessible gorges where a few mountaineers still sheltered their liberty, not a nation now remained which dared to speak that word. Hence, in spite of constitutions and treaties, in spite of the long list of privileges just now enumerated, there existed in truth but one condition in the provinces, and that was the condition of subjects.

The Romans, then, had not been able to rise to any higher conception than that of force; and all their political wisdom expressed itself in the maxim, *divide et impera*. Still, under upright proconsuls and intelligent emperors, this principle of government was concealed beneath the noble name of justice — *jus* — which was to rule in all the relations of Rome with the provincials. When Pliny mentions a city, he only tells us what tribunal it was to which the city was accountable, — to which she could apply to obtain justice — *jura petere*. Later, another phrase came into use, expressing the compensating benefit of this imperious sway, — *pax romana*, that “Roman peace” which united all nations, and blended all languages, — the real divinity of the Empire, to whom all the greatest emperors — Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan — erected temples, and whose boundless sovereignty — *immensa romane pacis majestas*¹ — the nations honored with sincere devotion.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxvii. 1. Under the Empire, the great care of all the governors was to maintain public order. Tiberius could not endure to hear of any disturbance. See, in the Acts of the Apostles, the alarm of the men of Ephesus, on account of a tumult excited by the preaching of St. Paul.

² Peace seated, holding an olive-branch and a sceptre; the legend, PAX AUGUST. Reverse of a gold coin of Vespasian.



PEACE.²

SIXTH PERIOD.

THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SYLLA (133-79); EFFORTS AT REFORM.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HELLENISM AT ROME.

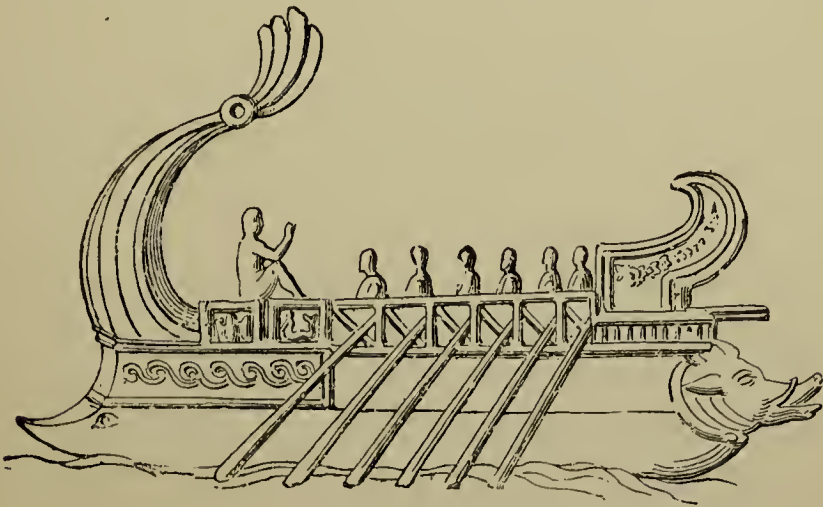
I. MORAL CONDITION OF GREECE IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

IN the year 146 B.C., about the ides of April, Rome presented a most animated aspect. For several days, says Appian, the Senate had not met, the tribunals were deserted, and in the streets and squares immense crowds were gathered, seemingly expectant of some great event. Suddenly the news spread that from Ostia had been seen, out at sea, a ship adorned with the most magnificent trophies,¹ and bearing wreaths of laurel on her prow. They dared not yet believe in the good news; but towards evening the ship had entered the Tiber, and from a thousand voices the cry burst forth, "Carthage is taken!" The whole night was spent in the wildest revelry: "She is fallen at last," they said, "this hated rival!" The crowd gathered to listen where a few old men, here and there, were telling of a time they could remember, when for sixteen years Numidian horses had trampled the soil of Italy, when across the smoking ruins of 400 cities, and plains strewn with 300,000 Roman corpses, a Carthaginian army had made its way to the very gates of Rome; and now the city whence Hannibal had

¹ Ναῦν . . . κοσμήσας λαφύροις. (App., *Libyca*, 133.)

come was destroyed by Scipio! Corinth also had just fallen, and two triumphs were preparing,—one for Metellus, the second conqueror of Macedon, the other for Mummius, victorious over the Achaeans. Looking eastward beyond subjugated Greece, there were to be seen only trembling nations and enslaved kings. Viriathus was scarcely a shadow in this brilliant picture of the prosperity of Rome.

And yet, looking upon the ruins of Carthage, Scipio had wept as he thought of his own city. His were not idle and poetic fears. These Romans of stern temper had not the chord in their hearts that vibrates to vague anxieties. Scipio knew his country: under the brilliant exterior he could see the slow disin-



TRANSPORT VESSEL.

tegration of morals, religion, and of the people itself,—the alarming decrease in the number of small landowners, the increase of slavery, the influence of the tax-farmers, the insolence of the nobles, the venality of the poor. In this inevitable transformation, the necessity of which he could not understand, he beheld dangers more formidable than Hannibal and Carthage. And he was right, for the old Rome was about to perish, and give place to a new.

In the preceding volume we have shown a patriciate taking the place of royalty, then constrained to share the government with the people, this fortunate union allaying internal discord. The best days of republican equality at Rome lie between the beginning of the Samnite war and the close of the second war with Carthage.

All was at that time common, — magistracies, honors, and devotion to the public good; and to this equality of rights corresponded very nearly a similar equality of fortunes. The great consuls, Cincinnatus, Curius, Fabricius, when they were not invested with the triumphal robe, wore the peasant's tunic and lived in the peasant's poverty and industry. Patricians and plebeians vied with each other in their zeal to serve the state; and if the former gave Fabius and Papirius and the Scipios, the latter could boast of Decius, Metellus, and Marcellus. The Romans of that time were indeed a great people, rough and rude still, but full of the spirit of civic duty, and keeping, with their strongly constituted family life, the stern morality of early days. Accordingly, it was the epoch of the difficult victories over the Samnites and Pyrrhus, over Carthage and Hannibal, which made easy all that came later.

In these wars Rome had fought for her existence; she obtained empire by their means, but at the cost of her institutions. Under the stress of circumstances, she retraced her steps, — she came back from equality to privilege, from the rule of a wise democracy, which was excellent for a city, to a centralized government, indispensable for a Power which reached so far. Unfortunately this revolution was complicated by another: the economic conditions of society were changed by the conquest of rich provinces. Rome, whose manners had long been those of poverty, suddenly assumed those of wealth, but of wealth acquired by pillage, not by industry. The strife of classes sprung up again, and as in the early time, the city contained two distinct peoples. If time and the law had almost effaced the distinction between patrician and plebeian, a higher barrier was now rising between rich and poor, the former every day growing prouder and more insolent, the latter more wretched and submissive.

We must study closely this transformation, by which are explained the revolutions of the last hundred years of the Roman Republic, — on one side, the invasion of Hellenism, modifying the faith and morals of the aristocracy; on the other, the incessant wars, wasting away the old plebeian stock (to be replaced by enfranchised slaves), and requiring for their successful termination a concentration of all authority in the hands of the Senate.

It was a moral and political revolution, less due to the ambition of men than to irresistible circumstances. Nations are not such masters of their fate that they can escape the consequences of their own deeds. Upon the world's theatre two unequal forces act,—the liberty of man and historic fate; I mean that force of circumstances which man himself creates, since it results from deeds which he himself has done, but whose remote results no human wisdom can foresee, and whose effects no human will can completely control. Thus the invasion of Hellenism was the inevitable re-action of civilized subjects upon the barbaric conqueror, and an oligarchy arose inevitably out of the popular assembly, which was unsuited to watch over the important interests which resulted from victory.

"After the transmarine wars," says Cicero, "a great wave of new ideas and of knowledge poured into Rome."¹ But what was it that the Greeks of that day could give?

We have shown the weakness of Greece at the time when it was invaded by the Romans, with the purpose of thus explaining the facility of its conquest.² In now showing, as the poet says, how the Greeks avenged themselves on Rome by giving her their vices, we shall do well to examine their moral condition at the time.

The Greek people had lived so intensely, that it had really had a long life, and at the epoch of which we speak was far advanced in age,—the dishonored old age of a people wasting in factiousness and turbulence the little strength that remained to it, and having lost the virtues of the time when all had jointly labored for the common good. The youth (*ephebi*) still received their severe training; but upon their entrance into active life they quickly forgot what they had learned, for since Alexander had given the treasures of Persia to the Greeks, and since his successors offered them innumerable places at court, in which complaisance towards the master led to complaisance towards one's self, public morals, formerly preserved by poverty and danger, declined; and with all its brilliant exterior, this civilization seemed

¹ *De Rep.* ii. 19. He says again, in the *pro Archia*, 3: *Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum.*

² See Vol. II. p. 78, *seq.*

at last to aim at nothing but multiplying for man the means of satisfying his lowest desires.¹

The chief object was to live well, not as Phidias and Plato had understood it, but after the manner, to quote Horace,² of those swine of Epicurus who declared that reason and nature command us to refer everything to the pleasures of sense.³ The poets of the middle and new comedy at Athens return endlessly to this theme; one of them represents a cook explaining the important influence of the culinary art upon human affairs:—

“What is all this nonsense you are talking?” says the poet Alexis.⁴ “The Lyceum and the Academy and the Odeon, and the Amphictyonic Council,—follies of sophists, in which I acknowledge nothing of value! Let us drink, my dear Sico, let us drink to excess and lead a merry life while we have the means to do so. . . . Virtues, embassies, commands, ’tis all vainglory and a vain rumor out of the land of dreams. Death will lay his icy hand upon you on the day the gods have appointed. What will then remain to you? What you have eaten and drunk, and no more. The rest is dust,—dust of Pericles, of Codrus, or of Cimon!”

This is but a poet’s freak, you say? Yes, certainly; but it is also a sign of the times. Ennius had just translated for the Romans the *Gastronomy* of Archestratus, and we know that to arrange a banquet skilfully was an object of ambition even to the severe Paulus Aemilius.

For this merry life gold was needful, and the men of that time sought it everywhere, in all things, even by vice and fraud. For many of them, their word was but a pawn in the game,⁵ and there were those who dared to say: “O divine metal, gift

¹ *Græci vitiorum omnium genitores.* (Plin., *Hist. Nat.* xv. 4.) See in Plautus, *passim*, the definition of Greek life, *pergraccari*. [We must remember that there were many noble exceptions.—*Ed.*]

² . . . *Epicuri de grege porcum.* (*Ep.* l. iv. 16.) Cicero had also said: *Epicure noster, ex hura producte, non ex schola.* (*In Pis.* 16.)

³ Athenæus, xii. 67. [Cf. also my *Social Life in Greece*, chap. xi., for further details.—*Ed.*]

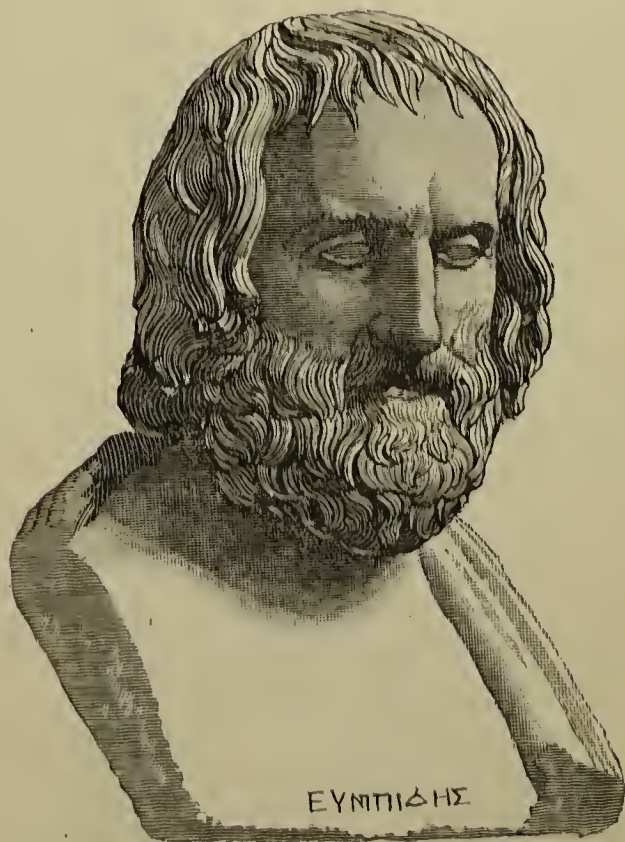
⁴ Fragment preserved by Athenæus. (See *Fragm. Comic. Græc.* ed. Didot, p. 524.) Alexis was born at Thuri (Suidas, s. v. Ἀλέξης) shortly before the destruction of that city by the Lucanians in 390. By birth, therefore, he was Italian; but he lived at Athens and died about 288. Aulus Gellius (ii. 23) says that some of his numerous plays were translated or imitated at Rome. [Cf. my *Hist. of Greek Lit.* i. 476.—*Ed.*]

⁵ See in Plautus, *Asinaria*, v. 199, and elsewhere what was meant by “Greek faith.”

most precious made to mortals, a mother is not so dear as thou art!" or again: "Call me a swindler, provided I win!"¹ An expression habitual in Greece was: "Lend me your testimony, and I will do the same for you."² What dishonesty, moreover, what depravity in public and in private life! Polybius has already shown this to us.³

COIN OF MALLOS.⁴

But all things answer one another; mental power declined with moral tone. To the serious working of the intellect had succeeded a research after subtleties. The imagination, so powerful with young nations, was lost; and Greek genius, exhausted and no longer able to create, observed, analyzed, criticised. Commentators succeeded poets; Aristarchus ruled at Alexandria, Crates of Mallos at Pergamus.⁵ Poetry and eloquence were gone; Demosthenes and his rivals had been the last of the Athenian orators, Euripides and Aristophanes the last poets. Since the fourth century opened tragedy was dead; down to the third, certain

EURIPIDES.⁶

¹ Diodorus (xxxvii. 30) says that these lines were in everybody's mouth.

² See how Cicero arraigns the Greeks in the *pro Placco*, especially in § 4.

³ See chap. xxvi. For the frightful corruption of the Greek world, consult especially Athenæus, — upon Demetrius of Phalerum, xii. 60; upon Antiochus Theos, vii. 35 and x. 10; upon the cities of Syria, xii. 35; upon the philosopher Anaxarchus, xii. 70, etc.

⁴ Satrap's head; reverse, a bull in a parallelogram, (M)AAAΩT(ω)N. Silver coin of Mallos.

⁵ Crates was sent, about 152, by Attalus on an embassy to Rome, where he gave numerous lectures. (Suet., *de Illust. Gramm.* 2.)

⁶ Bust in the Museum of Naples. [This poet marks the transition from the old to the new. — *Ed.*]

writers may still claim a place apart, such as Menander, the best type of what is called the new comedy, which Terence was to imitate at Rome, such as Callimachus and Theocritus, poets of elegies and pastorals, two forms which flourish in the decay of



ATHLETE WITH THE STRIGILLUM (ATTRIBUTED TO
LYSIPUS).

societies and literatures. The principal merit of Apollonius of Rhodes, the epic poet of this period, is a sustained mediocrity,¹ and Lycophron, the most celebrated of the members of the Alexandrian Pleiad, executed designs with his verses, — eggs, axes, etc. One of his poetic caprices is to represent Hercules in the belly of a whale,² borrowed perhaps from the Septuagint; and to complete his record, he invented the anagram. Among the Greeks of the decadence, letters, once the city's glory, the dazzling sign of religious and political life, because they

were the homage of genius to the gods and to the fatherland, were reduced to the mere amusement of a frivolous society. In the second century one name alone is noteworthy, — that of Polybius, who might stand beside the greatest writers of Greece,

¹ Quintilian, x. 1; Longinus, *On the sublime*, xxxiii. 6. [But cf. my *Greek Lit.* i. 49. — Ed.]

² Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 31, seq.

had he united literary skill to his conscientious and penetrating historic faculty.

In art, the powerful impulse given by Phidias, Polyclethus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, had not yet ceased to make itself felt.¹

These great men had bequeathed to the schools of Rhodes and Pergamus, at that time the most flourishing in the world, incomparable models, a skilful manner of handling, and technical methods which would for a long time support the faltering of genius. But already signs of decadence were appearing; some sculptors made statues colossal, believing they should thus make them great. At Rhodes ships under full sail could pass between the legs of the statue of Apollo, whose feet rested on the two piers of the harbor; others took from statuary its character of repose and serenity in striving to make it rival painting, not alone in the expression of emotion common to both, but in the representation of varied and violent scenes. They overwrought the marble so as not to leave a space where some muscle did not show, and overstrained the dramatic effect of the figures, as in the over-praised statue of the Laocoön, which has been called a tragedy in three acts, and that of the Farnese bull, lauded as a poem in stone.



THE FARNESE BULL.²

After all, the progress or decline of art mattered little to the Romans, who left to their subjects the work of keeping them

¹ No actual piece of Lysippus is extant; but we know there are several Roman copies, of which two are given above. [The famous Venus of Melos dates from late in the 3d century B. C. — *Ed.*]

² Museum of Naples. The denouement of the tragedy of Euripides, *Antiope*, has furnished the subject of this fine group. The sons of Antiope, Amphion and Zethos, are tying to a wild bull the Queen Dirce, who has maltreated their mother. The tragedy was imitated by the Roman Pacuvius.

supplied with statues and pictures. Greek art, accordingly, which at first was a worship, now becomes an industry; but although all that was once its inspiration declines and perishes, it will yet keep strength enough to live four centuries longer, and to embellish that new world of the West which Rome is destined to draw into civilized life. It is a memorable example of the power of schools and of traditions,—a phenomenon which, for the same reasons, is reproduced among us, where during nearly three centuries, the French school has suffered only partial eclipses, while others have entirely disappeared.

Religion, on the contrary, having never had doctrinal teaching, nor a clergy constituted into a powerful corporation, was incapable of retaining the minds of men in the chains of the early faith.

The enlightened class went to the temples only through habit, and uttered the names of the gods only as an oratorical device. The Olympians were dying; Aeschylus had already attacked them in his *Prometheus*, and Aristophanes, the audacious mocker, in his *Birds*, where he sports with the race of gods as with men. In the *Knights*, Nicias, the faithful servant of the worthy Demos (the people), desperate at the misfortunes which happen to him, can think of nothing better than to prostrate himself before the statue of some god. "What statue?" says Demosthenes to him. "Do you really believe that there are gods?" "Certainly." "What proofs have you?" "The proof that they have a spite against me. . . ." "Well, there is nothing to say against that."

Greece seemed to lose the memory of her past; she forgot even her great men. Cicero prided himself for having discovered at Syracuse the tomb of Archimedes hidden under thorns; he saw the temple of Delphi deserted, the Pythia mute;¹ and an Aetolian had burned that of Dodona, the most venerable sanctuary of the Hellenic race.

During the brilliant days of Greece, the oracles had played a great part, both religious and patriotic. But how laborious was the existence of the prophetic divinities now, interrogated every

¹ *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra aetate, seu jam diu; jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius?* (Cic., *de Divin.* ii. 57.)

moment about wretched personal interests; and what suppleness of mind was needed for their priests to prepare ambiguous oracles which would satisfy the worshipper without compromising the credit of the god! There has lately been found under the ruins of the temple of Dodona a large number of appeals to the protection of Zeus Naïos.¹ A woman asks for a remedy which shall restore her to health, and private individuals apply for information as to which of three courses is best to follow; a shepherd promises tangible proofs of gratitude if the god will bring success to some speculation in sheep which he proposes to make; an Ambraciote wishes to know which divinity will give him health and fortune; Agis, how to recover the pillows and coverlets which have been stolen from him. The Jupiter of Homer and Phidias is fallen to the level of a fortune-teller!

PRIEST AT DELPHI.²

As the last outrage, this religion no longer erected temples to any but the men of the time, and in bitter derision, as it were, vice had the honors of apotheosis. Thebes consecrated altars to the courtesan Lamia; Antiochus, "the god" (Θεός), ordered the worship of his unworthy favorite, Themison Heracles;⁴ and "the virgin city" bestowed divine honors upon the sharers of the infamous pleasures of Demetrius Poliorcetes. The prayers of Athens to this prince were at once blasphemous and cowardly. At the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries a choir of Athenians in white robes crowned with flowers came forward singing in their city's name: "The other gods are sleeping or on a journey; perhaps they do not even exist; to thee only, who art not made of wood or stone, to thee, present and living divinity, I address

ANTIOCHUS II.,
THEOS.³DEMETRIUS POLI-
ORCETES.⁵

¹ M. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pp. 72-83.

² Young man inscribing upon a patera the oracle's answer. Gem (cornelian) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,899 of the catalogue.

³ Diademed head of Antiochus II., "the god," from a gold coin.

⁴ Athenaeus, vi. 62.

⁵ Diademed and horned head of Demetrius Poliorcetes, from a tetradrachm whose reverse is given p. 225.

my worship. Oh, well-beloved! make me enjoy peace, and save me from my enemies, for I can fight no longer.”¹

We shall now inquire whether philosophy could offer to the souls of men the consolations which religion failed to give.

The Greek philosophy had already passed through the three glorious phases of its history. It had studied, —

Nature, considered as a harmonious whole by those whom Aristotle calls “the physicists;”

Mind, asserting its claim, since Anaxagoras, to be considered separately from matter, and becoming in the two great systems of Plato and Aristotle the universal cause;

And finally, *Morals*, striving, through the schools of Epicurus and Zeno, to take away from pure reason the primacy in the guidance of men’s minds.²

We need not explain these doctrines, with which Greece was intoxicated, but in which the Romans took but little interest, the wisest among them agreeing with the words of Ennius, “One should only sip philosophy, not drink deep draughts of it.” Their social results, however, we must follow out, because these made a part of Roman life.

Philosophy had been with Socrates and Plato more speculative, and with Aristotle more experimental. The latter gave indeed



SOCRATES.³

to the science of being the importance which it has kept, — nay, its very name, metaphysics, and found therein a divine unity; but in allowing nature a spontaneous power, and in separating all nature from the Deity, he seemed to deny a providential government of the world; finally, his system destroyed one of the strongest principles of moral responsibility when it granted immortality to the soul only on condition of its losing its personality. Busied with the necessities which are imposed by our human condition, he brought elements which Plato had disregarded into the ideas of virtue and happiness, and seemed to lower the moral ideal. In reality he brought this ideal more within the reach of men,

¹ Athenæus, vi. 63 : . . . κοῦκ ἔχω μάχεσθαι.

² Cf. Ravaisson, *Métaphysique d'Aristote*, and Zeller, *Philosophie des Grecs*, vol. i. p. lxiii. of the *Introduction* by M. Boutroux.

³ Cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,038 of the catalogue.

and his theory of expediency would have been harmless¹ if he had not deduced from it the lawfulness of slavery.² It was not from Aristotle, therefore, that men could ask what they should believe; he only taught what they should know; he was the man of science, as his master, Plato, will be the man of faith. These two mighty minds, who had laid open the twofold road in which we yet walk, are the two immortal adversaries who claim possession of the human mind; but Rome was not destined to know anything of these mighty conflicts.

False to the true spirit of their master, the disciples of Aristotle ended by closing heaven and that future full of hope which Plato had opened. Theophrastus, who succeeded him as chief of the Lyceum, inclined in morals towards the doctrines which Aristotle had disavowed;⁴ he makes Fortune (*fors*) the mistress of the world, and replaces God in the midst of creation, where Strato, his successor, will not even recognize him. "All divine life," says the latter, "resides in nature, and I have no need of gods to explain the formation of the world. There is nothing which does not result from motion and weight, *naturalibus ponderibus et*

PLATO.³CHANCE.⁵

¹ The useful was to the peripatetic philosophers identical with the right: *honesta commiserent cum commodis*. (Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, i. 7.)

² *Polit.* i. 2; *Mor.* viii. 2. He even combats (*Polit.*, i. 2) certain philosophers who were maintaining that slavery was a state contrary to nature. Aristotle believed that this institution was useful to the state, to the citizens, whom it freed from mercenary occupations, to the slave even, who, he maintained, never fell into slavery save through the inferiority of his moral nature. [He further maintained radical distinctions of race as its natural basis. — *Ed.*]

³ Museum of Naples.

⁴ Cic., *Acad.* i. 10: *nervos virtutis incideret* . . . Cf. *Id.*, *Tuscul.* v. 9. In his *Characters* [if genuine], not a single virtuous one is to be found.

⁵ M. PLAETORI CEST. S. C. Bust of Chance, placed on base bearing the word *Sors*. Reverse of a denarius of the Plaetorian family.

motibus”¹ This became the doctrine of Epicurus, and is to-day the formula of scientists who dispense with a first cause. Strato was called in the school “the physician;” two others also merit this name, Dicaearchus, who denied the existence of the soul, and Aristoxenus, who held it to be a certain harmony of the body, *intentio quædam corporis*. We thus come upon blank materialism; and Demetrius Phalereus showed at once by his political skill and the depravity of his life² that if the Peripatetic school did much for science, it ended by doing too little for morals.

The Greeks of that time having no longer a country nor the two things which had made it, liberty and religion, were teaching in all their schools that the wise man should detach himself from public life and take refuge in a tranquil indifference. It would seem that, fatigued with having for four centuries traversed the world of thought and of history in every direction, they now, like the Italy of Michael Angelo, desired only to rest and sleep.³

This teaching was especially the work of Epicurus. This hero disguised as a woman, as Seneca calls him,⁴ deserves better than his reputation. But in writing over his school, “Passer-by, thou wilt do well to rest here; pleasure is the supreme good,”⁵—he placed his disciples upon a path where the descent was easy, and Pleasure, seated upon a throne attended by all the Virtues,⁶ remains a dangerous image. In vain did Epicurus place the pleasures of the soul above those of the body, or aver that the strictly needful was enough for happiness; that, with barley bread

¹ Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 13; *Acad.* ii. 38.

² See in Athenæus, xii. 60, what is said by Duris of Samos, whose testimony on this subject has vainly been called in question.

³ Beneath the noble statue of Night, whom Michael Angelo represents as sleeping, Strozzi wrote these words: “She lives; if you doubt it, waken her; she will speak.” To whom the great sculptor, who was also a great patriot, replied:—

*Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura!
Però non mi destar; deh! parla basso.*

(“To see nothing, to feel nothing, is a great happiness to me. Wherefore do not awaken me; I beseech you, speak low!”)

⁴ *Ep.* 33.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21.

⁶ Cic., *de Finibus*, ii. 21. We must agree upon the meaning of this word *pleasure*. Religion and morality have for their end happiness, *εὐδαιμονία*. Has not Bossuet himself said: “All the doctrine of morals tends solely to render us happy” (*Méditat. sur l'Êtr., Les huit béatitudes, X^e Jour.*) But we must examine by what means a system of religion or morality

and water, a man might be as happy as Jupiter, — he had merely founded the theory of selfishness, with its disastrous consequences. Religion he destroyed, because the fear of the gods was a constraint; patriotism, devotion to the state, family affection, all perished, because they disturbed the tranquillity of the sage.

These doctrines, the natural product of an epoch when so many spirits longed for repose, were the very opposite to all that the Romans of early days held in honor. Two centuries earlier they would have been heard with horror by the inhabitants of the Seven Hills; but we shall see that there remained but few Romans in Rome, and that these degenerate sons of the great consuls were ready to



EPICURUS (FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM).

accept from Epicurus all the encouragements to self-indulgence which could be drawn from his teaching, leaving untouched the lessons of his life and his true teaching.¹ His school added one more element of dissolution to those already fermenting in the midst of this society, covering, as it did, with an aspect of philosophy a disorderly or listless life, which had nothing philosophic about it. How many Romans, and I speak of the

proposes to lead to happiness. The doctrine of morals as taught by Epicurus is summed up in four rules: —

1. To take the pleasure from which no pain results;
 2. To avoid the pain which brings no pleasure;
 3. To avoid the gratification which deprives of a greater enjoyment, or causes more pain than pleasure;
 4. To accept the pain which delivers from a greater pain, or will result in a great pleasure.
- The true basis of morals, therefore, duty, was absent in this dangerous teaching.

¹ Cic. (*de Fin.* i. 48) says of Epicurus: "This man whom you represent as the slave of pleasure cries out to you that there is no happiness without wisdom, honor, and virtue."

best among them, will live away from the city, like that friend of Cicero, who laid aside his father's name to call himself "the Athenian," like that Hortensius, so occupied with his fish-ponds, and that Asinius Pollio, resigned in advance to become the spoil of the conqueror! There are always sages of this kind, who leave to others the struggles of life, without believing themselves the Epicureans they are, and there were many such at Rome. But the school of pleasure is punished for its enervating doctrine by

its sterility; no superior man is ever born of her, and of the school of duty there are many.

The downward path which the Greek mind was descending led to the deepest abysses; never was moral destruction so complete.

"We know nothing," said Metrodorus, a disciple of Epicurus; "we do not even know that we know nothing."

These negative doctrines, which made a void in the soul, gained a hearing even in the Platonic school. Arcesilas, reviving Pyrrhon's scepticism, established it in the New Academy, and the teaching was carried to Rome by Carneades when he was sent thither as ambassador by Athens (155). "Who," says



METRODORUS.¹

¹ Museum of the Louvre, No. 139 of the Clarac catalogue. A double-headed "Hermes" presenting a head of Epicurus on one side and of Metrodorus on the other. The Hermes and busts often had, like this one, projections to be used in lifting them or to hang crowns upon. A Hermès of this kind, found at Rome in 1745, having the names on it, has made known the originals of these two portraits. (Cf. Clarac, *Description des antiques du Musée du Louvre*, p. 64.)

Aelian, "will not praise the wisdom of the races we call barbarians? They at least never bring in question whether there are or are not gods; whether they watch over the world or no. Among these nations no one has ever imagined systems like those of Enheimerns and that of Epicurus!"¹

The doctrines of the Porch, especially since the direction given them by Chrysippus and Panaetius, were a reaction in the name of the moral instinct and of common sense.² Zeno did not destroy the national religion, all whose divinities were to him manifestations of the One Being; and in virtue of this principle, he was able to respect popular beliefs, especially the very lively faith in genii. Of his successor, Cleanthes, we have the magnificent hymn to Jupiter: "Hail to thee, most glorious of immortals, adored under a thousand names, Jupiter eternal and omnipotent! hail to thee, lord of nature, who rulest all things according to thy law! . . . Jupiter, god whom the dark clouds hide, withdraw men from their fatal ignorance; dissipate the darkness of their souls, O our Father, and give them to know the thought whereby thou rulest the world in justice. Then shall we render to thee our homage in return for thy benefits, celebrating forever as we ought the works of thy hands, the common law of all beings!" An echo of this noble strain rings in the soul of the last of the great Antonines; and if, instead of Jupiter, we read Jehovah, the prayer will be a Christian one.

At Rome, says Hegel, Stoicism was at home. We have seen, in fact, in more than one Roman of the early days, the Stoic virtues which were naturally developed in this hard and energetic race. Under the Empire we shall see them again. But in the last century of the Republic the austere faith of the Porch gained but a few superior minds; men were more ready to listen to the voices which cried, "Doubt all things, and believe only in pleasure."

Apart from philosophy, the human mind had opened other paths for itself. Under the powerful impulse given by Aristotle, the sciences of observation had made great progress; men knew more, and knew more accurately. Ambitious minds went in search

¹ *Hist. Var.* ii. 31.

² *Cic., Acad.* i. 2, iv. 6.

of adventure. In the school of Epicurus men believed that they knew how the world was made; a little later Cicero ridicules those persons who "when they speak of the universe have the air of men just returned from an assembly of the gods." These audacities sometimes hit upon truths, and germs of theories at the present day accepted, may be found in the writings of those times: thus the principle of the conservation of force, the foundation of modern physics, of which Epicurus reasons almost as well as Leibnitz; and this other, that everything suffers transformation, nothing perishes; also the molecular theory, the negation of spontaneous generation, and the assertion that all bodies fall with equal rapidity in a vacuum.¹

Unhappily these germs were not developed, because the scientists of that time were mere philosophers; they had the intuitions of genius, but they guessed, and did not demonstrate. They lacked the experimental method, without which all science of nature is impossible, and their systems were logical constructions, which logic overthrew, setting out from different *à priori* premises. In those sciences, on the contrary which proceed from immutable axioms, geometry, mechanics, and astronomy, Greece had produced Euclid, Archimedes, and Hipparchus, three men whom the history of physical science places among her greatest names. But the sciences have no moral influence, save for the minds capable of seizing the harmonious order of the double *cosmos* in which we live, and of feeling that a man ought to be so much the better as he is the more intelligent. Never had Greece been so learned, and never so debased,—a grave warning to those ages in which the physical sciences assert an undivided empire.²

In conclusion, we find in certain sciences, for which Rome cared nothing, great splendor; but in art and poetry, no mighty inspiration, in eloquence a vain chatter of words and images (the rhetoricians), in religion, habits but no faith, in philosophy the materialism which came from the school of Aristotle, the doubt born of Plato, the atheism of Theodorus,³ and the

¹ See upon this question Martha, *Le Poëme de Lucrèce*, pp. 242-317.

² Montaigne (i. 24): *Je treuve Rome plus vaillante avant qu'elle feust sçavante.*

³ One of the leaders of the Cyrenaic school, which later melted into that of Epicurus, as the Cynical school ended by being absorbed in that of Zeno; Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 1: . . . *plerique*

sensualism of Epicurus, vainly combated by the moral protests of Zeno; and, lastly, in private and in public life the enfeeblement or the total loss of all those virtues which make the man and the citizen. Such were Greece and the East. And now, we say with Cato, Polybius, Livy, Pliny, Justin, and Plutarch, that all this passed into the Eternal City. The conquest of Greece by Rome was followed by the conquest of Rome by Greece:¹ *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

II. GREEK MANNERS AND ORIENTAL LUXURY IN ROME.

THE austerity of the early Romans was due to their poverty rather than to their conscience; two or three generations had sufficed to make of the city which had known nothing but meagre banquets and rustic holidays, a city of feasting and pleasure. There was now gluttony and drunkenness and debauchery hitherto unknown. Listen to Polybius, an eye-witness. "Most of the Romans," he says, "live in strange dissipation. The young allow themselves to be carried away in the most shameful excesses. They are given to shows, to feasts, to luxury and disorder of every kind, which it is too evident they have learned from the Greeks during the war with Perseus."² "See this Roman!" says Cato; "he descends from his chariot, he pirouettes, he recites buffooneries and jokes and vile stories, then sings or declaims Greek verses, and then resumes his pirouettes."³ This imitation of degenerate Greece became a rule in the education of the young

deos esse dixerunt, dubitare se Protagoras, nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius et Theodorus Cyrenaeus putaverunt.

¹ Plut., *Cat.* 6. Justin says (xxxvi. 4): *Asia, Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit.* Cicero (*de Orat.* iii. 33): *politissimam doctrinam transmarinam atque adventitiam*; and Horace (*Epist.* II. i. 156) adds:—

et artes
Intulit agresti Latio . . .
. . . post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.

² Polybius, xxxii. 11: . . . *alii in meritorios pueros, alii in meretrices effusi.* He adds: πολλοὺς ἐρώμενον ἡγορακένι ταλάντου.

³ Fragment of Cato appended to the translation of Fronto by M. Cassan.

nobility. "When I entered one of the schools to which the nobles send their sons," cries Scipio Aemilianus, "great gods! I found there more than five hundred young girls and lads who were receiving among actors and infamous persons lessons on the lyre, in singing, in posturing, and I saw a child of twelve, the son of a candidate for office, executing a dance worthy of the most licentious slave."¹

Greek vices, hitherto unknown in Rome, now became naturalized there. Yet Roman sobriety gave way slowly, and the law punished with death an outrage of this kind committed upon a citizen.² But the slave had no protection against his master's brutality, and we shall shortly see how greatly war had increased the number of these unfortunate persons. Now at Rome, as everywhere, slavery was a very active cause of corruption. Some slaves remained in the master's house and often drew profit from his vices; others labored outside for his benefit, and in employments that were not always honorable. The freedwomen,³ who had gained their liberty by subservience to their master's vices, crowded the houses of ill-repute, and when they fell victims to their debauchery, the master legally inherited their property. In and about these houses is laid the scenes of almost all the comedies of Plautus and of Terence. Women of free birth imitated this vicious life, we know, for in the year 114, to bring back modesty,

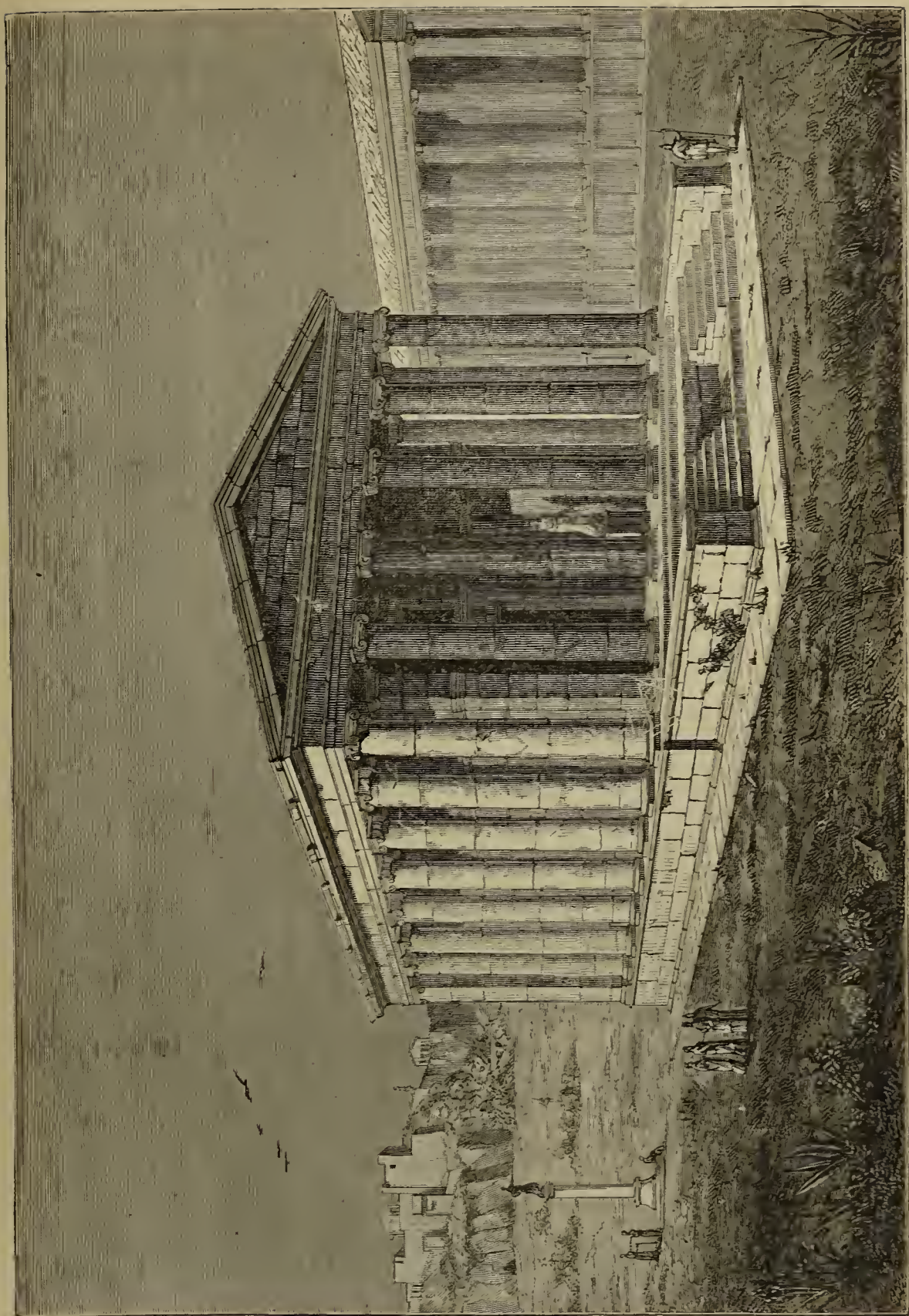
¹ Macr., *Saturn.* ii. 10. The verses of Sotades fortunately are lost, but not the *Epigrams* of Strato.

² Val. Max., VI. i. 5, 7, 9-12.

³ Eucharis, enfranchised by a lady of the Lieinian family, died at the age of fourteen; her portrait, made in the sixteenth century by Fulvio Orsini from a marble original now lost or destroyed, represents her as three times that age. We give the inscription that the father caused to be engraved upon her tomb, calling attention to the fact that these words, *Graeca in scaena prima populo apparui*, give reason to believe that Eucharis lived in the time of Nero, who in the year 60 instituted games of this name:—

"O thou, who with careless glance perceivest this house of death, stay thy foot, and read. It is a father's love which has consecrated this monument to the ashes of his daughter!

"Alas! while my youth flourished in the culture of the arts, and my fame was increasing with my years, the fatal hour made haste and deprived me of the breath of life. Skilled in music, brought up, as it were, by the hand of the Muses, I was the ornament of the chorus in the shows given by the nobility; for I was the first to appear in Rome upon the Greek stage, and the cruel Pareae have plunged me into the tomb. The affection of my mistress, love, praise, beauty, all are silent upon my funeral pyre and swallowed up by death. I leave tears only to my father, whom I have preceded to the tomb. My fourteen years are bound in chains with me in Pluto's eternal dwelling. In departing, wish, I pray you, that the earth lie lightly on my ashes." (Visconti, *Iconogr. gr.* t. i. p. 181; Orelli, No. 2,602.)



TEMPLE OF JUNO MATUTA (RESTORATION OF M. LEFUEL).

the Senate ordered the construction of a temple to Venus Verticordia, the Venus who turns hearts to virtue!¹ But this new Venus was less powerful than she who presided over unchaste loves. The matrons were no more successful against her fatal influence when they buffeted in the temple of Juno Matuta,² at the feast of the Matralia, a female slave representing the whole class dangerous to conjugal fidelity.³

An *Atilian* law belonging to this epoch recognizes in the urban praetor and a majority of the college of tribunes the right of assigning a guardian to a woman having none. This was by way of protection to her interests, and also of discipline for her conduct.⁴ Another, in the year 204, rendered squandering difficult by submitting it to public formalities,⁵ which it was not agreeable to fulfil when a courtesan was to profit by these gifts at the expense of the family of the giver. Finally, it was forbidden by the Voconian law (169) to any one registered as possessor of 100,000 *ases* to make a woman his heir.⁶ These attempts were all in vain. Courtesans became daily more numerous, and concubines obtained at last, in the time of Augustus, a legal recognition to their union.

Another scourge did perhaps more harm, because it increased the former. "The army of Manlius returning from Asia imported foreign luxury into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings, and other works of the loom. At entertainments likewise were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meals also began to be prepared with greater care and cost, while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves, became highly valuable, and a servile office

¹ Ov., *Fast.* iv. 160; Val. Max., VIII. xv. 12.

² The cut represents the restoration of this temple by M. Lefuel. The site of the temple of Juno Matuta is near the church of San Nicolo in Carcere Tulliano.

³ Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* No. 16.

⁴ Ulpian, *Fragm.* xi. 18. He says in § 1: *Tutores constituuntur . . . feminis tam impuberibus quam puberibus et propter sexus infirmitatem et propter forensium rerum ignorantiam.* This was the tutor *Dativus* rendered necessary by the disorganization of the *gentes*.

⁵ *Lex Cincia* or *muneralis*. It treated also of honoraria of advocates, who were not to receive from their clients. (Cf. Cic., *de Orat.* ii. 71; Tac., *Ann.* xi. 5.)

⁶ Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 274: . . . *neve virgo, neve mulier.* Cf. Cic., in *Verr.* II. i. 41, 42.

began to be regarded as an art.”¹ Then was seen a young and handsome slave costing more than a fertile field, and a few fishes than a yoke of oxen.² We have not yet come to the time of Apicius, and yet the most successful enterprises were those which



MEDITERRANEAN FISH, FROM A POMPEIAN MOSAIC.³

undertook to provide the tables of the rich and satisfy their capricious desires.⁴ The great even found distinction in inventing new dishes. Hortensius boasted of being the first to have peacocks

¹ Livy, xxxix. 6, and Diod., xxxvii. 3. The price of a good cook rose to four talents; for two, Caesar redeemed his life from Sylla's assassins. (Cf. Montesq., *Esprit des Loix*, vii. 2.)

² Polybius, xxxi. 18.

³ Niceolini, t. ii. "House of the Faun," pl. 2.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 23, 27.

served at table; Metellus Scipio, a consul, and Seius, a rich knight, disputed for the honor of having invented the *foies gras*.¹ Formerly all the senators had in common one silver service, which they used in rotation when they entertained foreign ambassadors.² Now some of them had as much as 1,000 pounds weight of plate, and a little later Livius Drusus had 10,000 pounds.³ They required for their houses and villas, ivory, precious woods, African marble, and the like.⁴ In 131 a certain Metellus built a temple entirely of marble, for these nobles disposed of royal wealth.⁵

In twelve years the war indemnity levied upon Carthage, Antiochus, and the Aetolians had amounted to nearly \$28,800,000. The gold, silver, and bronze borne by the generals in their triumphs represented as much more.⁶ These \$57,600,000 will be easily doubled if we add all the plunder that was taken by the officers and the soldiers,⁷ the sums distributed to the legionaries,⁸ and the valuables, furniture, stuffs, silver ware, bronzes brought to Europe from the depths of Asia, for nothing escaped the rapacity of the Romans. L. Scipio exhibited at his triumph 1,231 elephants' tusks; Flamininus and Fulvius more than 500 marble and bronze statues,⁹ massive bucklers of gold and silver, and chased vases. Acilius even carried off the wardrobe of Antiochus, Manlius his small

¹ Varro, *de Re rust.* iii. 11, 15; Colum., viii. 10, 6.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 11.

³ Vell. Pat. i. 21.

⁴ Vell. Pat. i. 12, 14.

⁵ *Ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse.* (Cic., in *Verr.* II., *de Supp.* 48.)

⁶ This statement is derived from the last fifteen books of Livy, and includes the sums directly deposited in the treasury or borne in the triumphs of these twelve years. The figures probably are not absolutely exact, but the sums were certainly enormous. Carthage paid 10,000 talents, Antiochus 15,000, the Aetolians 500, Ariarathus 300, Philip 1,000, Nabis 500, — in all, 27,300 talents. M. Maeé (*Lois agraires*, p. 26) has made an estimate for the forty years, 208–167, which reaches nearly \$192,000,000. Mengotti (*Del Commercio de' Romani*) has two chapters on this subject: *Prede immense de' Romani*.

⁷ See, p. 285, the condemnation of Acilius Glabrio. The Scipios were accused of peculation, and Manlius was threatened with prosecution.

⁸ C. Cornelius gave his soldiers 70 *ases* apiece, Marcellus 80, Lentulus 120, Flamininus 250, Cato 270, Scipio 400, Manlius Vulso 420; Paulus Aemilius 200 *denarii* in Epirus and 100 after his triumph; Lucullus 950 *draehmae* (Plut., *Lucullus*, 54), Pompeius more than 1,500. (Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 47.) The centurions had twice as much as the legionaries, and the horse-men three times as much. (Livy, *passim*.)

⁹ Livy, xxxiv. 52. Polybius (xxii. 13) speaks of a crown of 150 talents offered by the Aetolians to Fulvius, and Josephus of another weighing 4,000 gold pieces given to Pompeius by a king of Egypt. (*Ant. Jud.* xiv. 5.)

tables and sideboards.¹ In Ambracia, once the residence of the kings of Epirus, Fulvius left nothing but the bare walls, — *parietes postesque nudatos*.²

The years which followed were no less productive. From one campaign Paulus Aemilius brought back nearly \$9,600,000.³ Then came the wealth of Corinth and of Carthage and the treasures of Attalus. According to the Capitoline Fasti there were in 283 years

SILVER CUP.⁴

181 triumphs, or nearly one every two years. The principal interest of this celebration was the exhibition of the booty. It was not allowed to a pro-consul to return with empty hands, though he

¹ *Monopodia et abacos*. (Liv., xxxix. 6.) Polybius blames this pillage severely (ix. 10).

² Liv., xxxviii. 43. This Fulvius Nobilior, who had distinguished himself in Spain, gave while censor in 175 a great example of severity. He expelled from the Senate his brother Fulvius because the latter had, without order of the consul, abandoned a cohort of the legion of which he was tribune. (Val. Max., II. vii. 5.)

³ *Unius imperatoris praeda finem attulit tributorum*, says Cicero strikingly. (*Off.* ii. 21.) It was customary, however, still to pay the twentieth of the price of enfranchised slaves; customs and port-dues were not suppressed until the year 62 or 61 by the tribune Metellus Nepos. This tribute was re-established under the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa in 43.

⁴ *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 2,807 and 2,808.

had been making war upon the poorest of men, upon those intractable tribes from whom he could not even make prisoners that might be sold as slaves. There was no profit so small that the Romans disdained it; in 197 Cethegus deposited in the treasury 79,000 denarii, and Minucius 53,000,¹ which they had extorted, one from the Insubri, the other from the Ligurians.

To these revenues arising from the plunder of the world must be added the gifts made willingly, it was said, by the cities and provinces. The Aetolians offered Fulvius a gold crown of 150 talents; a king of Egypt sent one to Pompeius which weighed 4,000 gold pieces; and there was no city favored by exemption from tribute, no people declared free, who did not feel itself obliged to offer to a victorious pro-consul one of these crowns, whose weight was measured by the servility of the giver. At his triumph Manlius carried 200 of them.² As the republican usage of largesses to the soldiers prepared the way for the imperial usage of *donativa* to the legions, so these gold crowns of the pro-consuls became the *aurum coronarium* of the emperors, — a tax which European royalty inherited under the title of “gift of happy accession.” The state, for its part, received every year the tributes of the provinces, the product of the enfranchisement of slaves, the revenue from the public domain, from customs, and from the mines, which latter was very considerable, that of Carthagena furnishing an amount equal to 25,000 drachmae daily.³

What was to be done with all this gold? Public works consumed part of it; the gods had a share, which was laid up in the temples against public emergency;⁴ the people also claimed their share. The idle were numerous: above, there was too much wealth; below, too much poverty. To occupy them and amuse them

¹ [The denarius, a Roman penny, was about seventeen cents of our money. — *Ed.*]

² Livy, xxxix. Cf. Festus, s. v. *Triumphales coronae*. The governors even who had not fought required them. (Cic., in *Pis.* 37.)

³ Polybius, xxxiv. 14. To the taxes regularly paid are to be added the special tribute of the *acerarii* and that of the *orbi* and of the *viduae* for the *aes hordiarum* of the *equites eque publico*, that is to say, for the support of the horses furnished by the state to the cavalry.

⁴ This usage lasted as long as pagan Rome. Aurelian consecrated in the temples a part of the spoils of Palmyra. Recently has been found in Cyprus a treasure hidden in a chamber several metres below the mosaic floor of a temple, which the heathen priests had been prevented from carrying away by the sudden attack of the persecution to which they in their turn had been subjected by the Christians.

public fêtes were given incessantly, some still of a serious character, others in which license was a part of worship; in the circus were countless chariot and horse races and coursing of hares and foxes. But these amusements of the good old times seemed no longer worthy of the grandeur of Rome. Men who had run the world over sword in hand, killing and pillaging, had need of keener excitements, and did not seek them from Greece, still gracious and graceful even in her decline, who would have for her fêtes only songs and garlands and beautiful dancing-girls, all the splendors of luxury and of nature, but no bloodshed. The Roman had shed so much blood, however, that he loved to see it flow, even in his pleasures. In this way it came about that the great carnivora from Africa began to appear in Rome, lions and panthers who were let loose upon each other, and soon let loose upon human prey;¹ and this spectacle of living flesh torn, of limbs crushed by wild beasts, caused such a thrill of delight through the amphitheatre, that to satiate the eyes of the public a new kind of punishment was devised, and the condemned criminal was thrown to wild beasts in the arena.

Ennius says: "It is by the virtues and the men of ancient days that the Republic is preserved."

"Moribus antiquis stat res romana vireisque."

This theme of the old poet has been adopted by those who do not see that the renewal of all things is the world's law, and that the life of nations, as of individuals, is a perpetual "becoming." How many are the declamations against the present as compared with the past, against luxury and the perils hidden under sumptuous carpets, expensive vases, and all beautiful useless things! We will not renew the old complaint made under this head against the Roman nation; but we will unite with the wisdom of all nations in saying, that wealth which is not the fruit of labor and its kindred virtues profits not to its possessor; that an ill-acquired fortune goes as it came, leaving much moral ruin behind it; and we will add, with the experience of political

¹-In 186 the first *venatio* of lions and panthers was given by M. Fulvius. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 168 were seen at the *ludi circenses* sixty-three panthers, forty bears and elephants. From this time on, the curule aediles were obliged to furnish wild beasts in the shows that they offered to the people.

economists, that gold is like the water of a river: if it comes with sudden overflow and inundation, it devastates; if it comes through a thousand channels, slowly circulating, it brings life everywhere. Europe, in this second half of the nineteenth century, has seen such an inundation of gold from American and Australian mines. But this enormous increase of capital produced by labor has served to refit all its industrial apparatus, and there has resulted a vast addition to public wealth and individual comfort. But it was by war, by pillage and robbery, that Rome passed suddenly from poverty to opulence; and the conquered gold served only to increase the sterile luxury of those who possessed it. We can therefore easily picture to ourselves the disturbance caused by this sudden change;¹ morals could not stand against it, and the contagion of example, the facility of finding new pleasures, rapidly carried corruption into the larger number of the old Roman families. "After the conquest of Macedon," says Polybius, "men believed themselves able to enjoy in all security the empire of the world and the spoils thereof."²

We must, therefore, accept as historic fact these words of Juvenal: "You ask whence arise our disorders? An humble life in other days preserved the innocence of the Latin women. Protracted vigils, hands hardened by toil, Hannibal at the gates of Rome, and Roman citizens in arms upon her walls, guarded from vice the modest dwellings of our fathers. Now we endure the evils of a long peace; luxury has fallen upon us more formidable than the sword, and the conquered world has avenged itself upon us by the gift of its vices."³ Since Rome has lost her noble poverty, Sybaris and Rhodes, Miletus and Tarentum, crowned with roses and scented with perfumes, have entered within our walls."⁴

This plague, corrupting the high society of Rome to its very core, lasted two centuries and a half, from Paulus Aemilius to Vespasian. We shall see that from five to six generations of profligates were needed to waste the spoils of conquest, to satiate the thirst for pleasure, and to wear out that senatorial aristocracy which, near

¹ See the sketch of these disorders given by Diodorus (xxxvii. 3), and what is said by Velleius Patereulus (i. 11), Valerius Maximus (ix. 1), Sallust, and others.

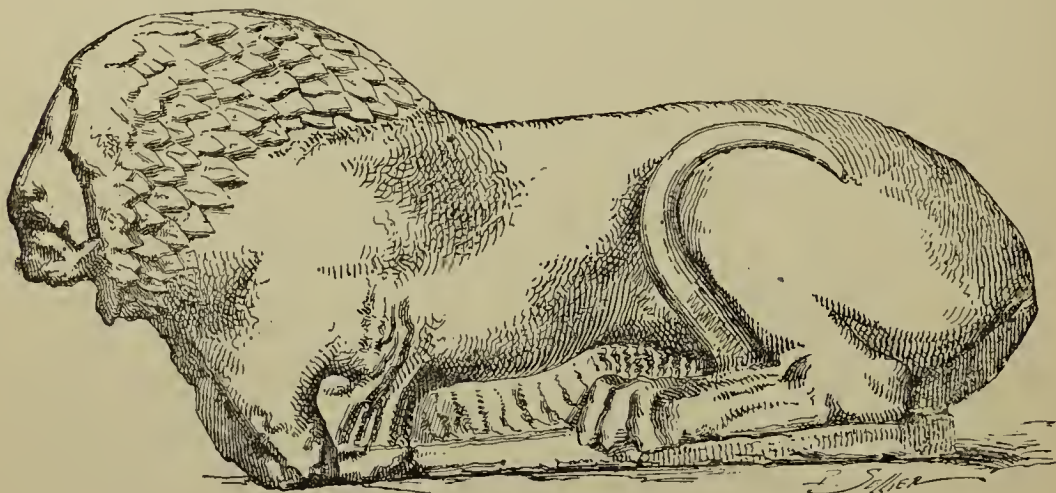
² Polybius, xxxii. 11.

³ Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* v. 7; xxxiii. 11) and Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 53) say the same.

⁴ *Sat.* vi. 286-297.

the close of the first century of the Christian era, came to be replaced in the government by a provincial aristocracy of better stamp. In his prologue to the *Trinummus*, Plautus represents Indigence as the daughter of Luxury. Let a century pass, and we shall see these nobles as mendicants in the palace of Augustus and Tiberius; a hundred more, and they will have disappeared.

Some of the old Romans made a vain effort to stay this contagion. In 204 seven senators were degraded from their position by the censors; seven also by Cato; nine in 174, and a still larger number in 164.² But the censorship itself became the



MARBLE LION FOUND AT MILETUS.¹

reward of intrigue; from that time all disorders seemed authorized, and until the year 116 there was not a single erasure from the list of the Senate. That year, however, Metellus at one blow removed thirty-two senators.³ Among those who were expelled in 174 was a former praetor and an acting praetor, the son of Scipio Africanus. A Fabius Maximus was leading so scandalous a life, that the praetor Pompeius interfered and put him under a guardian.

The most illustrious personages disgraced themselves with a scandalous shamelessness. In 181 the censor Lepidus, a prince

¹ Found in the necropolis at Miletus in excavations made at the expense of M. de Rothschild by MM. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas (*Milet et le golfe latmique*, vol. i., pl. 22).

² Val. Max., iii. 5; Livy, xlv. 15.

³ Livy, *Epit.* lxii.

of the Senate, and also pontifex maximus, employed the money of the public treasury in constructing a dike at Terracina to preserve his lands from inundation. Another censor, Fulvius, carried off the marble tiles from the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno to cover a temple which he was building at Rome. Public indignation having forced the Senate to condemn this sacrilege, the censor contented himself with carrying the tiles back into the court of the temple. A former consul, Acilius Glabrio, was soliciting the censorship, when he was accused of peculation. Cato swore that there were certain vases of gold and silver which he had seen in the camp of Antiochus that were not produced in the triumph, and the candidate for the censorship was condemned to a fine of 100,000 ases. This may have been the revenge of the nobles upon a parvenu,¹ but these peculations were only too frequent. A commissioner of the Senate, Decimus, being sent into Illyria, allowed himself to be bought over by the King of that country to make a favorable report.² In 141 a Metellus was recalled from Spain, where the war at this moment promised fame and booty; in his rage, the general disorganized the army, destroyed the provisions, and killed the elephants. Others, again, refused the provinces assigned them, because they had no hope of gaining anything from them.³ In Greece, Licinius was turning everything to his own profit, selling even furloughs to his soldiers, trafficking in the honor of his army and the safety of the province. A Fulvius Nobilior disbanded by one order an entire legion. Two consuls were disputing for a province. "I think," said Scipio Aemilianus, "we ought to exclude both; for one has nothing, and the other has never enough." From the time of Plautus, Roman faith had come into discredit. "If Jupiter," says the poet, "should open his temple to perjurers, there would not be room enough for them in the Capitol."⁴ At a later period Laberius says in the open theatre: "What is an oath? It is a plaster to heal debts."

The censors and aediles, charged with the care of the public morals, having no means of action at their disposal, only from time to time made an example, which, however, gave no general

¹ Livy, xxxviii. 48.

³ Livy, xli. 15.

² Livy, xlii. 45.

⁴ *Curcul.* 276; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 5.

alarm. In other days there had not been need of incessant watchfulness. In the first place, the old Latin religion did not legalize disorder; and secondly, in these little states, where each lived under the eyes of all,¹ a chaste and laborious life, frugality, disinterestedness, appeared virtues necessary to the state, and the citizens themselves kept watch over their own morals.² But in this immense Rome, the capital and the sewer of the world, how many vices must have been openly practised! how many crimes have been committed with impunity! The absolute inefficiency of the administration of public morals and general security was at Rome one of the causes which precipitated the destruction of the Republic. All excesses being permitted, numberless people gave way to them; and when there is no virtue left in social, there is none in political life.

Montesquieu says, and human reason admits the truth of his remark, that a republic, where the executive is always feeble, cannot endure without morality, which is the self-applied curb of liberty. The governing class at Rome having it no longer, and that which was called the people not possessing it, all the ties which once held society together were relaxed, and religion, the strongest of all, was soon to break.

III. DECLINE OF NATIONAL RELIGION AT ROME.

PHILOSOPHY had by no means caused these innovations, but in many of her schools had furnished reasons for regarding them as legitimate. The old Romans held her responsible for the changes which were produced by "historic fatality." "As for me," said Pacuvius, "I hate those men who pass their time in philosophizing, not in acting." This was the protest of the Roman conscience.

¹ The Orelian law, as late as 198, ordered that during late dinner, which was the principal meal of the day, the doors of houses should stand open, so that all might see if the directions of the sumptuary laws were observed. (Mær., *Sat.* ii. 13.) The Romans, says Plutarch (*Cat.* 23), did not believe that there should be left to each man liberty to marry, to rear children, to choose his method of life, to make banquets, — in a word, to follow his own tastes and inclinations, without regard to the judgment and observation of any, etc.

² Aulus Gellius, xiii. 8.

Cato, who regarded Socrates as a babbler, and would have condemned him over again for seeking to modify the manners and customs of his fathers, said to his son: "Remember this, and bear it in mind as the utterance of an oracle: when this race shall have invaded us with literature, Rome will be lost." He was certainly one of the authors of the famous decree of 161 which expelled philosophy.¹ Six years later, the exile returned.

The Senate desired to keep peace among its subjects; the Athenians having pillaged the territory of a Boeotian city, the affair was referred to the arbitration of Sicyon, and Athens was condemned to an enormous fine of 500 talents, which she was unable to pay. She solicited an abatement from the Senate; and in order to obtain it, sent as ambassadors to Rome the chiefs of the

THE ORATOR.²

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 2.

² Museum of the Louvre, No. 712 of the Clarac catalogue. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du musée national du Louvre*, pp. 213-215. In this statue, one of the best preserved that we have, has been seen by turns Mercurius, Germanicus, Flamininus, etc. Upon the shell of a tortoise, an animal consecrated to Mercurius, an inscription in characters of the last century of the Republic gives us the sculptor's name, Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes the Athenian. The Venus de' Medici is the work of Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, hence it has been supposed one was the father of the other. By common consent, the statue is now called the Orator; it was bought by Louis XIV. through the agency of Poussin.

of wisdom." The three philosophers were, — Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Carneades [of the new Academy], a great dialectician and orator, to whom nature had given "all the weapons of strength and grace" (153). While awaiting the discussion of the affair, the three envoys gave public lessons. The Roman youth crowded about them, surprised and charmed at this new world which the Greeks unveiled to them. At the same time, with the Romans, a people of action, Greek philosophy could succeed only by its direct influence upon ideas which were limited, and morals which were already becoming corrupt. For them Aristotle was too abstract, Plato too much an enthusiast; indifferent to the atoms of Epicurus as to the *catalepsies* of Zeno, they left dogmas and concerned themselves only with results. Critolaus might indeed say to them: "The object of life is the perfect exercise of reason;" and Diogenes: "Virtue is the only good, vice the only evil;" they admired without really comprehending this austere morality and philosophy, which sought to carry the idea of absolute right into matters where the old Latin spirit recognized only practical wisdom, — that is to say, for the individual, a consideration of his personal interest, for the state, that of the public advantage. But they listened attentively to the founder of the third academy, Carneades, who undermined all schools of philosophy by showing their weak side; who destroyed religion by pointing out that the great proof of the existence of the gods, namely, the general consent of mankind, had been acquired by a thousand foolish mistakes; — the worship of the gods, by proving that there was no more reason for accepting one divinity than another; the oracles, by opposing to them human freedom; and morality, by victoriously supporting contradictory cases.

Thus, trifling with the most formidable questions, Carneades exhibited his brilliant talents before a Roman audience, and gained a popularity useful for his embassy. His famous discourse on political sagacity was an indirect defence of Athens, which, in pillaging Oropus, had committed an expedient, but unjust, act, as Rome had done so many times. It has been said that this school, of which Cicero was the pupil, did not merit all the discredit into which it has fallen; and this dangerous sentence of the great orator has been quoted: "To plead all that can be said, for and

against, is the surest method of arriving at the truth." To plead it, no; to seek it, yes; for doubt and the examination of all sides of a question are *par excellence* the scientific method, that which eliminates false hypotheses, and leaves only true theories. Still further, it is essential that from these controversies, which make so many ruins, something should remain intact, like the lamps beneath the broken pitchers of Gideon. But how often, when the mind is drawn in opposite directions, and confused by subtle discussions, the conscience wavers, and faith in abstract right is lost! With this scepticism taught by the new Academy, the minds of men lost those firm principles so necessary for living an honorable life. Not denying, therefore, that [even in dogma] the chemical changes of death may be those also of a new life springing from it, I can understand the alarm which Cato, that resolute defender of the past, felt at this destructive logic, which, to men weary of their superstition and of the darkness in which they had lived, appeared a weapon for combat and deliverance.

After the great success of Carneades, Cato adjured the Senate to answer these philosophers as quickly as possible, and send them back to their own country. "They persuade men," he said, "to believe whatever they will; and truth and falsehood are so blended in their arguments,¹ that no one can separate the two. Let them go and teach the youth of Greece; let us keep our children submissive, as heretofore, to laws and magistrates." But it was too late, the initiation had been effected; and Carneades, in leaving Rome, left behind him a fatal curiosity,—that philosophy of doubt which two centuries later disquieted Cicero, even when he was speaking no longer as a philosopher, but as a statesman. "In respect to the new Academy," he said, "I seek not to challenge it, and I implore its silence; for if it should fall upon these principles which we are now establishing, it would soon leave nothing but ruins."²

The influence of Carneades was maintained by his successor Clitomachus, who, if he did not teach in Rome, at least propagated scepticism there by his writings, one of which he

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 39.

² Cic., *de Leg.* i. 13: *Nimias edet ruinas; quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo.*

inscribed to the poet Lucilius, and another to the consul Censorinus.¹

The invasion was rapid. Less than two generations after the senatus-consultum had decreed, in that imperative fashion the Senate was wont to employ: "Let these people depart from Rome; *uti Romae ne essent*," Pompeius went to Rhodes to salute the philosopher Posidonius, and lowered the consular emblems before science, forbidding his lictors to strike, as was the custom, at the door of the house.²

The impulse towards this new way was, however, independent of Carneades and of all schools of philosophy. The enfeebling of the national religion dates from an early day. When any misfortune, pestilence or famine, fire or military disaster, fell upon the city, the Romans were more exasperated at the evil which their gods had not prevented, than grateful for the victories in which they were well aware that the courage of their soldiers had the chief part; and they came to feel that these protectors of their ancestors had grown powerless. In vain during the disastrous times of the Second Punic War had they multiplied their temples and sacrifices, their expiations and sacred games; Heaven had long remained deaf to their supplications, and they had taken refuge in foreign superstitions. Then, Hannibal being dead and the danger past, the credit of these divinities of the conquered had in its turn diminished,—at least among the nobles, for whom Ennius, a dependent of Cato, had translated into Latin the work of Euhemerus.³ This traveller asserted that he had seen in an island off the coast of Arabia a golden column, upon which were inscribed the actions and the death of Saturn, Jupiter, and other gods, former kings of the country, deified by popular credulity. To people Olympus with deified men was to destroy at one blow all the heathen religions. Ennius was no more respectful towards the priests than towards their gods. His sarcasms, which professed to be aimed only at charlatans, struck higher. "I despise," he says, "the augurs of the country of the Marsi as

¹ Cic., *Acad.* ii. 31, 32.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 31, on Carneades. (Cf. M. Martha in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1868.)

³ Ἐπεὶ ἀναγραφή. Euhemerus was a disciple of Theodorus, surnamed the Atheist. (Diod., v. 44–46.)

well as the fortune-tellers of the village, and the astrologers of the market-place, the prognosticators of Isis, and the interpreters of dreams. They have neither divine art nor human knowledge. They are impudent liars, idlers, and fools, or beggars urged by hunger. They know not whither to go, and they assume to lead us; they promise treasures while they beg an obol! Let them raise their obol upon the credit of this promised wealth, and give us what remains."¹

But we must speak seriously of things which believers hold as serious. That which Ennius despises, and with such good reason, was, nevertheless, the very foundation of the Latin religion, since the ancient Romans considered the signs interpreted by the priests as a divine *revelation* constantly renewed by gods ever present in the midst of their people. For this reason the Roman statesmen, while they left the poets and men of letters at liberty to say whatever they pleased, for their own part carefully supported the ancient institution. "It is not well," said the pontifex Aurelius Cotta, "to deny in public the existence of the gods; but in private it is a different matter;" and he did not hesitate to do so.²

Polybius, who was a friend of Cato, the counsellor of Scipio Aemilianus, and the most honest man of his time, being disgusted with the popular religion, which had become for some a school of scandal, while it remained for others a rude and gross superstition, banished Providence from his history, substituting instead a stern sentiment of personal and public duty. He denied that there was suffering reserved for the wicked, but he maintained a severe responsibility to society and to a man's own conscience. Finally, with that proud scorn of the crowd so common to superior minds, he regarded a system of worship merely as a useful method of governing and restraining men.³ When we see Cato, augur and censor, unable to comprehend how two soothsayers could

¹ Cic., *de Divin.* i. 58.

² Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 26; ii. 3; and *de Div.* ii. 24. Caesar, pontifex maximus, was an agnostic. [This was very much the attitude of many ecclesiastics in the Renaissance, notably at the court of Leo X.—*Ed.*]

³ Polybius, vi. 56. To Varro, to the pontifex Scaevola, to Cicero himself (cf. *de Nat. deor.*, and *de Divin.*, *passim*), the old religion was no more than this. We have already seen that Flaminius feared being detained by pretended prodigies.

look each other in the face without laughing, we are no longer surprised that the Government should allow the gods to be insulted with impunity, so long as the magistrates were held in respect.¹

Clever reasoners, Varro, for instance, and the pontifex Scaevola,² who was consul in 95, escaped from the difficulty by distinguish-

ing many kinds of theologies; that of the poets, at most good for the theatre; that of the philosophers, discussed by reason; that of the state and the people, which the laws were bound to respect and defend. The last, as we have seen,³ consisted only in dry and empty formalities which touched neither the intellect nor the heart; the second remained inaccessible to the crowd, and brought forth nothing but doubt; the first alone, that of the poets, was dear and vital. But what instruction could be derived from those scandalous imitations of the licentious plays of Athens, where the gods were given up to the ridicule of their worshippers?

It was in vain that the philosophers and rhetoricians had been expelled from Rome, their

influence remained there; and Greek education, taking the place of the Etruscan, spread abroad in families and in the heart of new generations contempt for the old customs and the religion



PROVIDENCE.⁴

¹ Saint Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, ii. 12: *Poetas Romanos nulli deorum pepercisse*. (Cf. Cic., *de Nat. deor.* i. 26.)

² Saint Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 27: *Prima theologia maxime accommodata est ad theatrum secunda ad mundum, tertia ad urbem*.

³ Vol. I. p. 216, *seq.*

⁴ Statue in the Louvre, No. 323 of the Clarac catalogue.

of their forefathers. Besides, decrees of expulsion reached only the distinguished masters, and not the obscure crowd gathered in the great city,¹ those *Graeculi* who entered everywhere as slaves, 'as sculptors, painters, teachers, parasites,—a crafty and deceitful race, greatly in demand for their acuteness of mind and skill in speech.² In ancient Greece the education of the young was one of the chief cares of the government;³ the Romans, with rare exceptions when the magistrates intervened, left this matter to private enterprise. Poly-

bios reproaches them for it, and it appears from a sentence in Plautus what fruits were borne by this liberty:

“Am I your slave, or are you mine?” says a scholar to his tutor in the *Bac-*

chides. Consider also the lamentations of poor Lydus,

and his comparison of the new manners with the old.⁴

Terence, enumerating at random the tastes of fashionable young men, places philosophers along with horses and hunting-dogs.⁵

Meanwhile the most illustrious Romans of the time, the Scipios, Paulus Aemilius, all

the nobility and all who strove to copy fine manners, surrounded their children with Greek instructors. But how could conquered men, slaves bought in the market, bring up the sons of the conquerors



SCULPTOR.⁶

¹ Πολὺ δὲ τι φύλον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιρρέον ὄρω κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων. (Polybius, xxxii. 10.)

² See Cic., *de Orat.* i. 22, 51; also the *pro Flacco* and his letters.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 11. Cf. Suet., *de Ill. gramm.* See the *Éphébie attique* of M. Albert Dumont.

⁴ *Bacchides*, 202, 473, seq.

⁵ . . . Aut equos alere aut canes ad venandum, aut ad philosophos. (*Andr.* 55.)

⁶ From the museum in the *Villa Albani*.

in the strong virtues of the earlier age? "The Romans," said Cicero's father, "are like the Syrian slaves; he who knows Greek best is the worst."¹

IV. INCREASING POPULARITY OF ORIENTAL RELIGIONS.

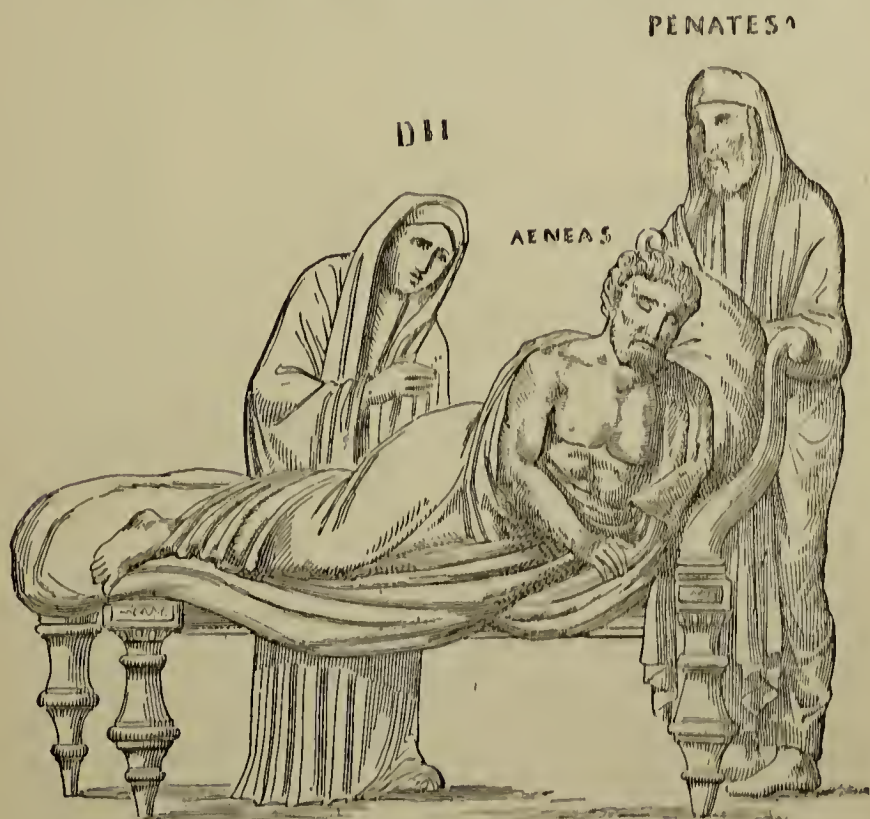
IF we must deplore the degeneracy of morals and the introduction of new vices into the Roman life, is it right also to regret the work of destruction accomplished in the matter of religious beliefs?² In the first place, the decay of the old faith was inevitable, and this alone is a reason for resigning ourselves to it. But, further, the place these errors occupied in men's minds was now ready to be filled by a better idea of divinity,—an idea of which Cicero had a glimpse. This death then was but a renewal of life. A certain amount of time must pass, for the doubt which was the herald of a purer faith came as yet but to few, and the old religion had too strong a hold on all the habits of life to be easily wrenched from them. Although Roman polytheism gave very little comfort in this life or hope for another, although it was worn out by hard usage, the crowd could not free themselves from the superstitious fears they had so long entertained. The future was still sought in the entrails of victims and in the flight of birds,—a strange superstition, which has not long been extinct, if indeed it be so now, since it yet survives in Greece.³ Prodigies were still regarded, and must be solemnly expiated upon the altars of the gods; the senators themselves were filled with terror when the consuls made known to them that a five-legged calf had been born; and two men of iron will, Marius and Sylla, were no more than children before omens. One took counsel of a Syrian prophetess named Martha, and an ass seeking to drink, and two scorpions fighting, showed him what he must do; the other had faith in dreams and in amulets. Such are the unbelievers of our day who are afraid of bad luck, and that personage in the play who is frightened at the sound of his own thunder-machine which he has just had mended by the

¹ Cic., *de Orat.* ii. 66.

² Polybius, ix. 10.

³ Perrot, *Mém. d'archéol.* p. 388.

blacksmith round the corner. Superstition and free-thinking keep house together in certain minds, as do the two Masters in others. Some, after being sceptical, recover their faith under the stroke of misfortune: this is common to all times. As for the mass of the population, it kept its Lares and Penates, its rustic gods, and its faith in that Jupiter *optimus maximus* who reigned in the Capitol, and who caused Rome to reign over the world. But many whose religious sentiment was not fully

PENATES.¹

satisfied by the arid formalism of the national religion, sought new heavens, and called down from them foreign gods. Already had Apollo, Aesculapius, Venus Erycina, and the Phrygian Cybele received rights of Roman citizenship,² and the old Italian

¹ The Penates are represented on coins and medals in different aspects. The Vergil of the Vatican, from which the above representation is taken, has given to the protectors of Aeneas a venerable air and the costume of priests and priestesses offering sacrifice, without, however, assigning them any names. See, upon these divinities, Vol. I. p. 208.

² See Vol. I. p. 636, *seq.* In the worship of Cybele, the liturgy was altogether Greek (Serv., in *Georg.* ii. 394); it was nearly the same with the mysteries of Ceres. (Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 9; in *Verr.* II. v. 72.) The priests of Ceres were generally called from Naples or Veii. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24; Val. Max., i. 1.)

divinities had lost their special character, assuming a Greek form and less austere manners. Faunus and Sylvanus¹ had become Pans,

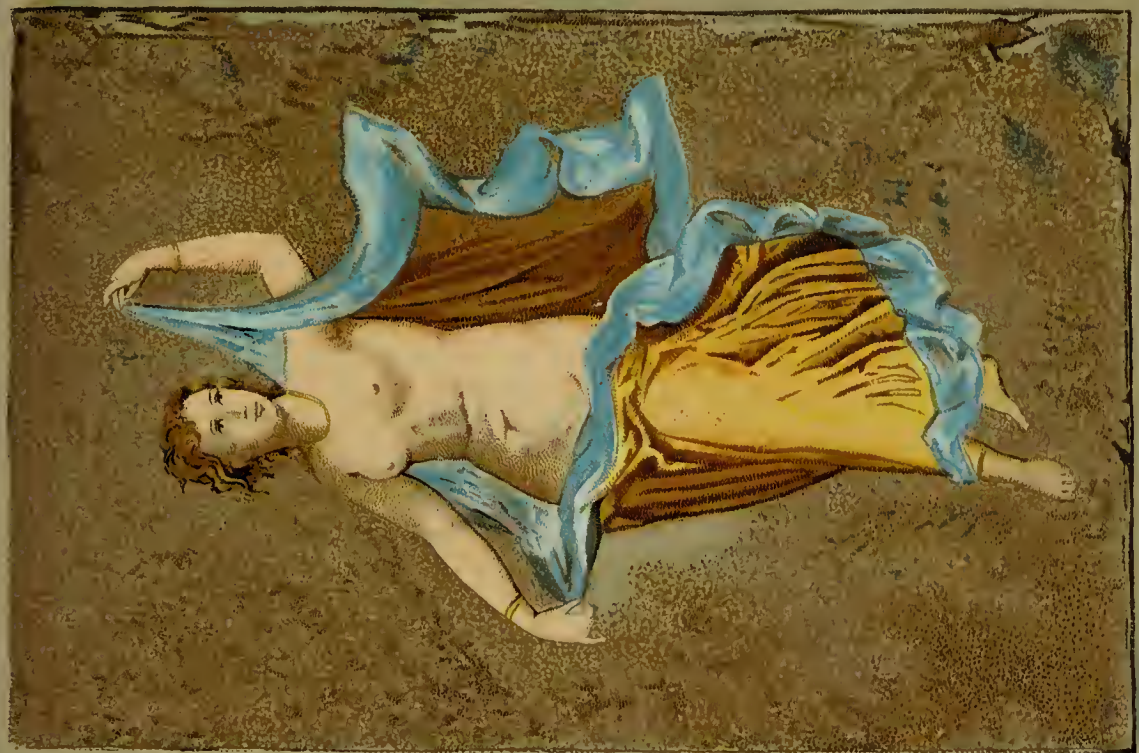


MATUTA OR LEUCOTHEA (THE DAWN).²

Satyrs, and Silenuses. Djanus Djana gave up the double form, and Rome retained the huntress Diana. Tages had given place to Mercury, Libitina to Proserpine, Sancus to Hercules. Matuta,

¹ Sylvanus had lost much in the esteem of the higher classes, but this guardian of the house and field (see Vol. I. pp. 203, 263) retained the confidence of the poor. The *sanctus sacer* had brotherhoods in all the provinces, *cultores Silvani*; there were some in Latetia, and some have been found in Macedon. See two curious inscriptions on one of these colleges in Heuzey, *Mission de Macéd.* p. 71, and in Orelli, 1800.

² Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iv. 3rd series, pl. 39.



DANCING GIRLS

From a Pompeian Painting

the goddess of the morning, had been changed into Leucothea, and Portunus into Palaemon or Melicertes.

An example will show the effect of this transformation. The ancient Faunus, the revered divinity of fields and flocks,¹ the infallible oracle, revealing the future now by dreams, now by mysterious voices, assumes horns and a goat's tail, and becomes the merry and amorous satyr of Greece, pursuing the nymphs when intoxication did not retard his footsteps.

Following these Greek divinities, the more dangerous gods of the East slipped into the city: as early as 220 Isis and Serapis had temples which the Senate ordered to be destroyed.²

An attempt was made, even in 181, to establish these innovations by a pious fraud. "Some la-

borers on the farm of Lucius Petilius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, the other that therein were contained his books. . . . In the latter were found two bundles, each containing seven books; seven were in Latin, and



SATYR.

¹ Hor., *Carm.* iii. 18; Verg., *Aen.* vii. 81; Cic., *de Nat. deor.* ii. 2, iii. 6.

² Val. Max., i. 3.

that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the Senate decreed that they should without delay be burned in the Comitium," which was done (181).

The oriental divinities gave a new cast to the religious convictions of men to whom a very crude form of worship had so long sufficed.¹ Born in the scorching East, these deities required savage rites and pious orgies. Dramatic spectacles, intoxicating ceremonies, affected violently the dull Roman mind, excited religious frenzy; and for the first time the Roman felt those transports which, according to the character of the doctrine and the condition of the mind, produce effects diametrically opposite, — absolute purity of life, or the excess of debauchery sanctified by religious belief. Asiatic slaves, now numerous at Rome, certainly carried on an unnoticed proselytism, as happened later in the beginnings of Christianity. We may clearly indicate by describing the rites of two of these faiths into what new and hitherto untried paths the religious spirit of the Romans had drifted. Lucretius thus pictures the feasts of Cybele, omitting the scandalous details :

"The Greek poets when they sing of the earth represent her seated in a chariot drawn by two lions, her brows girt with a mural crown. . . . Mutilated priests accompany her . . . ; drums resound under their hands ; cymbals and trumpets mingle their strident tones with the intoxicating harmonies of the Phrygian flute. . . . Javelins they bear, the weapons of their fury, and the mute image of the goddess traverses the great city without manifesting her silent beneficence. Silver and bronze coins and flowers strew the route by which the procession moves. The goddess and her priests are, as it were, enveloped in a cloud of roses. Then a troop of armed men with crested heads dance,



SERAPIS AND ISIS.²

have written in Greek, and the praetor of the year 181 could not have understood the Latin of Numa.

¹ See Vol. I. p. 216.

² Serapis, coiffed with the *modius*, and Isis, with the lotos-flower, standing face to face, each bearing ears of corn, — symbols of fertility. Reverse of a bronze coin of Antoninus, struck at Alexandria.

leaping in time to the music, while the blood runs from the wounds they give each other.”¹

These strange solemnities made part of the public worship,² and a certain decency was observed in them. But the mysteries of Bacchus, carried on secretly, had no such restraints. We give the story nearly in the words of Livy :



CYBELE.³

A Greek of mean condition came into Etruria, bringing with him these secret and nocturnal rites. They were at first imparted to but a few, but afterward communicated to great numbers, both men and women ; the infection of this mischief, like the contagion of disease, spread from Etruria to Rome, where the size of the city, affording greater room for such villainies, and more means of concealment, cloaked it at first ; but information of it was at length brought to the consul Postumius in the following manner : Aebutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left fatherless, and, his guardians dying, he was brought up by his mother, Dironia,

and his stepfather, Rutilus. Dironia was entirely under the influence of her husband, and Sempronius having so dealt with his ward's property that he could not give a good account of

¹ *De Nat. rer.* ii. 601-634.

² In 205 a decree of the Senate established the worship of Cybele.

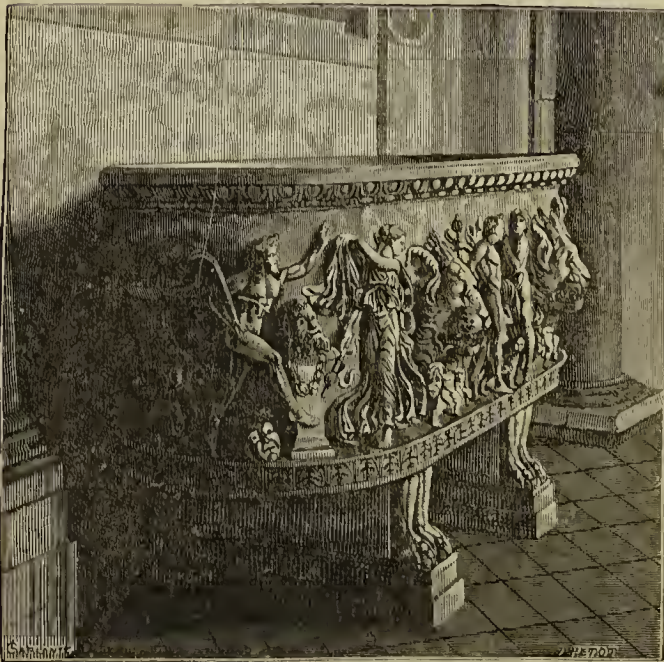
³ Cybele, crowned with towers ; bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No 2,919.

it, wished to have the young man made away with or bound by some tie to submission. The Bacchanalian rites furnished a way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him that she had made a vow in his behalf during a recent illness that if he should recover she would cause him to be initiated into the Bacchanalian mysteries. This vow she called upon him to fulfil; the young man consented, having no idea of any evil or danger in so doing, and he communicated his intention to a freedwoman named Hispala Fecenia, to whom he was attached. Upon hearing this the woman in great terror broke out: "May the gods preserve you from it!" and went on to imprecate vengeance and destruction upon those who had advised him to such a step. The young man informed her that it was his mother who had counselled it, with the approbation of his stepfather. "Your stepfather, then," she said, "is eager to destroy you;" and being greatly urged, she went on to say, after imploring pardon of the gods and goddesses, if in the excess of her affection for her lover she was about to disclose what ought not to be revealed, that when a slave she had once gone to that place of worship as an attendant upon her mistress, but that since she had obtained her liberty she had never re-visited it, and that she knew it to be a receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries. She entreated the young man to escape the danger, and not plunge himself into a situation where he must suffer and commit all that was infamous.

Upon making known to his mother his determination not to obey her in the affair, Aebutius was at once driven out of the house, and went to his aunt, Aebutia, who advised him to reveal to the consul the whole matter.

The consul having satisfied himself that Aebutius had spoken truly, desired his own mother-in-law to send for the freedwoman Hispala. The latter, on finding herself summoned to the house of a woman of high rank and respectable character, was much alarmed, and on coming to the door and seeing the lictors in attendance believed herself lost. Both the consul and his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, exerted themselves to reassure her; and she, after declaring her dread of offending the gods by betrayal of these secrets, and still more her anxiety lest the men implicated should tear her in pieces when they knew of it, at last consented to speak. The rites at first, she

said, were performed by women, no man being admitted; there were three stated days yearly when persons were initiated, and the ceremonies took place by day. The matrons were appointed priestesses in rotation, and finally one of them, a Campanian woman, had made alterations in all these particulars as if by the direction of the gods. She introduced men into the ceremonies, changing the time from day to night, and instead of three in a year, there were now five days of initiation in every month. From the time that the rites were thus changed, there was nothing scandalous that had not been



SARCOPHAGUS OF BACCHANTES.¹

practised among them, to think nothing unlawful being the great maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, clad as Bacchantes, with dishevelled hair, ran down to the Tiber carrying blazing torches, which they dipped into the water and drew them up again still burning, the torches being made with native

sulphur and charcoal. Those who shrank back from any crimes were dragged away into caverns under ground and slain, the noise of drums and cymbals and savage yells stifling the cries of the victims. The number of the initiated, she said, was extremely large, making almost a second state in themselves; and many among them were persons of noble families in Rome.

Having completed her deposition, Hispala fell upon her knees and entreated the consul to send her out of the country into some region where she might live in safety. She was, however, received

¹ This magnificent sarcophagus is at Rome. (Cf. Wey, *Rome*, p. 597.) Bacchus was also a divinity of the dead, θεὸς χθόνιος (Pausan., viii. 37, § 3; Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, v. 19); hence representations of his worship upon tombs.

instead into the house of Sulpicia, an apartment being given her in the upper story, and the egress to the street walled up, so that there was no way of reaching the rooms except from the inmost court of the house.

Having both his witnesses within reach, Postumius now made a report to the Senate; and his words struck terror into the Conscript Fathers, not merely on the public account, lest such assemblies and nightly meetings might be productive of treachery and mischief, but also on account of their own families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. Revolts of slaves had recently taken place in Etruria (196)¹ and in Latium, where Setia and Praeneste had narrowly escaped being taken by them,² and all the Apulian herdsmen were in tumult, so much so that it became necessary to send against them, a few months after the discovery of the Bacchanalian orgies, an army and a praetor, who put to death 7,000 of them.³ The Senate had never been favorable to secret meetings, and here they had them in Rome at the very gates of the senate-house, while all through Italy there was reason to suspect their existence.

The Senate voted that thanks should be given to the consul for his extraordinary promptness and discretion in the investigation of the matter. They then ordered the consuls to hold a special inquiry concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies; to take the utmost care that no harm should come to the informers, Aebutius and Fecenia; and to offer rewards for still further information. They ordered that all officers in the Bacchanalian rites, whether men or women, should be sought for not only at Rome, but throughout all the Italian towns, and should be delivered over to the consuls; also that proclamation be made in the city of Rome and through all Italy, that no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites or to perform any kind of worship; and, above all, that search should be made for all those assembling for flagitious practices of whatever kind.

The consuls then directed the curule aediles to search out and arrest all priests and priestesses of Bacchus; they charged the

¹ Livy, xxxiii. 36.

² Livy, xxxii. 26.

³ Livy, xxxix. 29.

plebeian aediles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private; they gave orders to the capital triumvirs to establish posts in all quarters and break up nocturnal gatherings; and five assistants were added to the triumvirs to keep special watch against incendiary attempts upon the buildings of the city.

An assembly of the people was then convoked, and one of the consuls addressed the crowd, giving them some account of what had been done. He recalled to them the edicts of their fathers prohibiting foreign religious rites, banishing strolling sacrificers and soothsayers, searching out and burning books of divination, and abolishing every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice. The assembly then listened to the reading of the decrees, closing with the edict that no person should buy or sell anything for the purpose of leaving the country, nor receive, conceal, or aid any fugitives.

Great alarm was felt in the city, and the excitement soon spread throughout Italy, when letters were sent by the patrons of cities and public guests, with copies of the decree of the Senate, of the consul's address, and of the edict, offering rewards to informers, warning offenders to appear within a given time and make their confession, and forbidding all citizens to harbor the accused or to facilitate their flight.

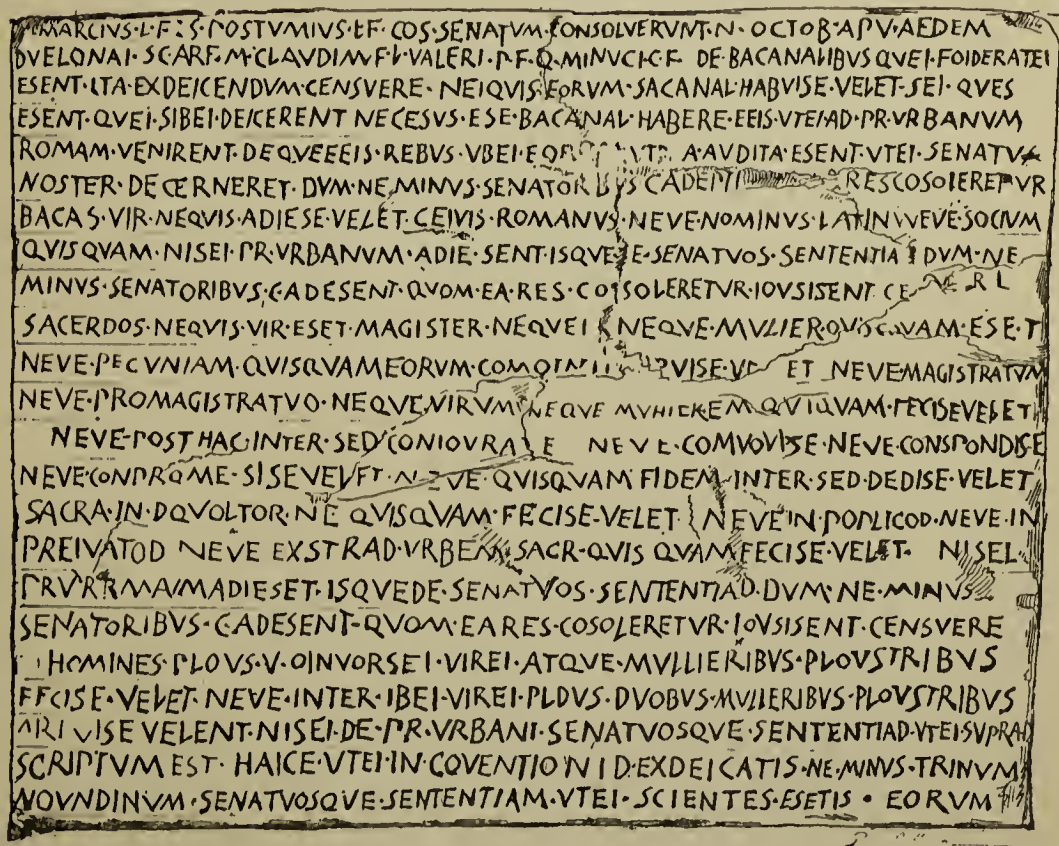
The action of the Government was prompt. Guards were at once placed by the triumvirs at all the gates of the city. Many were arrested seeking to escape, and others, turning back at sight of the guards, endeavored to obtain shelter in the city; some destroyed themselves. The guilty persons were over seven thousand in number. Four of the founders of the sect, being brought before the consuls, confessed their guilt, and were put to death. Those who had merely been initiated and taken the oath were condemned to prison, and those who had shared in the rites—a much greater number—were executed. The women, delivered over to those who had control of them,¹ were judged and punished in private.

A *senatus-consultum*, of which we have a copy,² decided that there should be no more Bacchanalia at Rome or in Italy, but that

¹ . . . *Cognatis aut in quorum manu essent.* (Livy, xxxix. 18.)

² With the consul's letter ordering obedience to it. This letter was found in 1640 [at Tiriolo, near Catanzaro, in Southern Calabria] engraved on a bronze plate. It was addressed to

the ancient altars and statues consecrated to Bacchus should be left standing. It was also provided that in case any person should believe that some such kind of worship was necessary and incumbent upon him, and that he could not, without offence to religion or fear of calamity, omit it, he should represent this to the



FRAGMENT OF THE SENATUS-CONSULTUM ON THE BACCHANALS.

praetor, who should lay the matter before the Senate. If permission were granted by the Senate when not less than 100 members were present, he then might perform the rites, provided that no more than five persons were present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest. The worshippers were also forbidden to bind themselves by mutual oaths. And that no one might be

the people of Teura, and all the other cities of Italy had received a similar one. This bronze is now in Vienna. (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.* of Berlin, i. 43.) [It is of great interest, as one of our oldest specimens of Latin with archaic forms, such as the ablative in *d*, not to be found in Latin literature. — *Ed.*]

ignorant of this decree, it was directed that it be read in the public assembly on three market-days, and engraved on a table of bronze, which should be fixed in some public place most easy of access; finally, that all offenders should be punished with death.

Another decree of the Senate gave to Aebutius and Hispala the sum of 100,000 ases apiece; it was further directed that the necessary steps should be taken to exempt Aebutius from military service. Hispala received the privilege of disposing of her own



BACCHUS.²

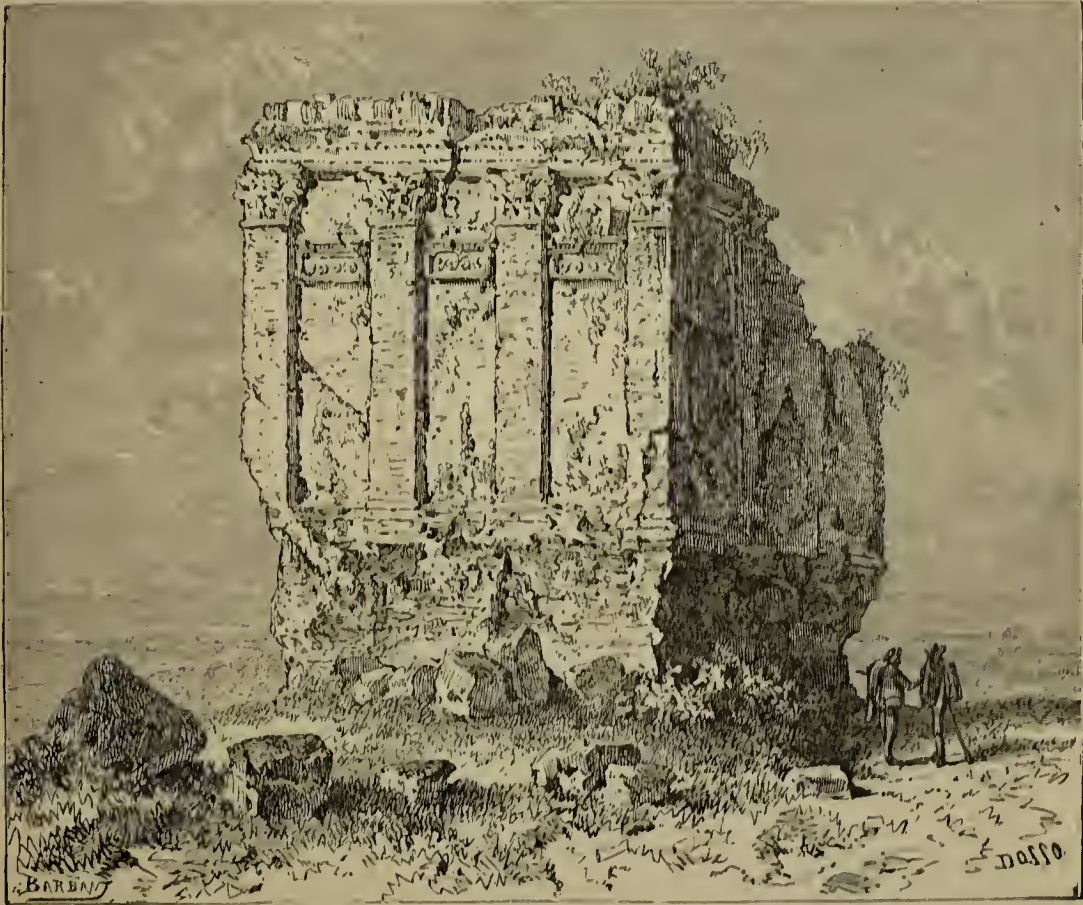
property, of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian; also that she might marry a man of honorable birth, and such marriage should not be a cause of loss or ignominy to the husband; finally, that consuls and praetors, present and future, should watch particularly over her safety.¹

These events occurred in the year 186; search continued during the following years, and other victims perished; of these, most, doubtless, were innocent, like many of those who were put to death in 186. There appears to have been no conspiracy in the matter. Crimes were imputed to the accused, as they were later to the Jews and Christians. The scenes of debauchery are but too certain, and the initiated probably made away with certain persons now and then whose indiscretion they had reason to fear. The terror and confessions of Hispala, much more than the testimony of paid informers, can leave no doubt on this question. But this

¹ In other words, the decree of the people suggested by the *senatus-consultum* conferred upon Hispala all the rights of the Roman matron; without it her former owner would have inherited her property; he would have authorized no marriage except with one of his own freedmen; he would have been her guardian; and it appears from the words of Livy, *Neu quid ei, qui eam duxisset, ob id fraudi ignominiaeve esset*, to what the free Roman would otherwise have been exposed in marrying her. Augustus forbade such marriages to senators; but it seems probable that in earlier times they were forbidden, in the interest of morality, to any citizen.

² Bacchus holding a vase in the right hand and stretching the left towards a little figure standing on a pedestal, to which Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.* iv. 207) gives the name of Hope. This group was found in the territory of Tusculum. (London, *Hope Collection*; cf. Saglio, fig. 715, p. 630.)

orgiastic worship, celebrated by night, this secret association, which elected chiefs and levied assessments from its members, caused alarm to statesmen as well as to the conservative in matters of religion. Those whose descendants came to call Christians the enemies of the human race had but little trouble in believing that the worshippers of Bacchus were the enemies of the Republic. In



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF HEALTH ON THE ROAD TO ALBANI.¹

substance, the punishment of the Bacchanalians was the first of the religious persecutions ordered by the Roman Government.

This pretended conspiracy had thrown men's minds into a condition which shows how easily these Romans became excited by superstitious terrors. A frightful plague ravaged Rome and all Italy. It carried off a praetor, a consul, many persons of importance, and so large a number of the people that recruiting became difficult. This scourge was regarded as a sign of celestial anger. The pontifex maximus caused the Sibylline books to be

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

consulted. Offerings and gilded statues were vowed to the healing gods, Apollo, Aesculapius, and Health, and a supplication was offered for two days in the city and the market towns and villages by all persons over twelve years of age, the suppliants wearing



APOLLO.²

garlands on their heads and carrying laurel-branches in their hands. But the over-excited imagination of the people saw human villany in this widespread mortality. The word poison was whispered, and ran through the city with extreme rapidity, as happens in cases of panic; and an investigation resulted, if we may believe Valerius of Antium, in the condemnation of 2,000 persons, among them Quarta Hostilia, the wife of the consul who had died of the pestilence.¹ It was a fresh holocaust offered to fear.

The proceedings against the Bacchanalians are worthy of our further attention, for many important facts are thereby brought to notice. We see that the Senate suggested decrees to the popular assembly, and itself made laws and set in motion the whole administration, consuls and praetors, aediles and tribunes of the people, regulating the affairs of Rome and of Italy. We see, moreover, to what extent had grown the dependence of the Italians upon the city, now their capital and their mistress, since the Senate was able to forbid

to them certain forms of worship, and reserved to itself the right of giving the *jus civitatis* to new divinities. Still further serious consequences followed from the affair, since the Emperors, inheriting

¹ In this statement facts are collected, which Livy separates. (Cf. xxxix. 41, and xl. 37.) The accusations of poisoning began again in 152, when two noble matrons were put to death in their own houses.

² *Atl. du Bull. archéol.*, vol. viii. pl. 13. [From a Pompeian bronze.]

the Senate's jealousy of foreign religious and secret societies, accepted the decree in the affair of the Bacchanalia, as a rule for their dealings with the Jews and Christians.

Details of manners may be noticed. The rights of the domestic tribunal were still recognized; the demi-servitude of the freed person; the facility of recognized intimacy with a courtesan; the duty of a city's patron to keep that city informed of Roman affairs; lastly, the use of informations obtained by offer of reward, — a shameful legacy from the Republic to the Empire. Another point is of greater importance, — the fact that Hispala entertains no doubt of the religious character of these mysteries; that she believes them of divine origin; that she dreads the anger of the gods on account of her revelations; that, finally, the Senate regards the matter in the same light, neither proscribing the god nor his worship, and solely striving to repress its immoralities. But to us these lawless doings make part of a numerous category of analogous facts, which the history of religions records. Within the pale of an association employing the usual methods of secret societies, the mysterious initiation, the solemn oath, the menace (sometimes the poniard) for those who break their plighted faith, we find teaching of esoteric doctrines, impure rites, the over-excitement of the senses and the souls of men. Whatever allowance may require to be made for exaggeration in the story of these horrors, there must remain enough truth to reveal a certain condition of mind which had never before existed in Rome, but henceforth would exist and develop. The proscribed Bacchanalia re-appeared;¹ the priests of Jupiter Sabasius repeated the same scandals. In 140 it became necessary to expel these pious profligates from Rome, together with the Chaldaean astrologers;² but they soon returned, and many others in their train. Sylla,

¹ Livy, xxxix. 8-19. Notwithstanding the severities of the year 186, the Bacchanalia continued with a little more decency at first, but later without any restraints, merely ceasing to seek concealment, — a change which, in the eyes of the Government, removed its dangerous character. At Lavinium, says St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, vii. 21), they were celebrated during an entire month with the most shameful obscenities. It is, however, justice to add that the Romans never introduced into their public worship those consecrated prostitutions which dishonored so many of the Oriental religions. The reserve of the Western nations preserved them from this shame. Upon the subject of these immoralities considered as acts of devotion, see J. Baissac, *Les Origines de la Religion*. (1877).

² Val. Max., I. iii. 1; Cic., *de Leg.* ii. 15.

conservative in the extreme, introduced the Enyo of the Cappadocians, and Varro says, "All the gods of Egypt have come down upon Rome."

We have, therefore, just witnessed the very humble and the very shameful beginnings of a moral revolution destined to exercise the greatest influence upon the destinies of the Empire.

If we compare this narrative with what was said in the third chapter of the first volume, we shall find that in religious things the Roman mind, before arriving at Christianity, passed through three phases, which naturally ensue.

The first was marked by the narrow and prosaic character of the Latino-Sabine religion.

The second appeared when the weighty slavery of this formal ceremonial, good for the rude peasant, became insupportable to men who, having conquered many provinces and many ideas, began to believe that human foresight had more weight in the affairs of this world than Jupiter's favor. They retained the old forms of worship as a means of government, leaving religious institutions blended with political until the very end of the pagan empire; but for themselves they renounced the old beliefs, while seeking for no new ones; and the best of them stood in that middle path of good sense and indulgent doubt where Horace chooses in those lines which must have appeared most irreverent to the devout:—

"Sed satis est orare Jovem quae donat et aufert:

Det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo."¹

This is the epoch which we have reached, — that of scepticism.

Already the third was beginning to appear. The philosophic doubt of the aristocracy, whose education Greece had superintended, was not for every man's use. Those whom a nervous and excitable organization predisposed to ardent passions and lively imaginings, women especially, began to weary of the national gods, too long deaf to their prayers, and carried their offerings to the divinities who came to them from the East with a whole train of strange rites, by which mind and senses were alike excited. It was the preparation for the final phase. But four centuries were yet needed before these cold and selfish souls could arrive at

¹ *Ep.* I. xviii. 111–112; *Carm.* ii. 3.

mysticism, before these men would exchange their mad pleasures for religious gloom, the worship of life for that of death. We have seen how everything belonging to old Rome was tottering to its fall, morals and faith alike. We shall soon see a new Rome arise.

V. INFLUENCE OF GREECE UPON ROMAN LITERATURE.

IN respect to letters, shall we say that these conquered people who subjugated their conquerors exercised a happy influence upon Rome? No Latin tongue had yet cried out with the grief or love that the true poet utters. Poetry is something personal and individual; and in Rome the severe discipline of laws and custom, *mos majorum*, had not permitted the flight of individual genius. Accordingly, this phenomenon had been produced, unique in the history of nations, that a people had arrived at high political eminence without having kindled the flame of patriotism and noble thought upon the hearthstone of letters.

When the Romans accepted Greece as their instructor, they had not yet formed their language or their taste. Hence their literature, from its very earliest days, was marked by the character that it always retained, namely, the imitation of Greece; and this tamely accepted dependence prevented it from making a path for itself. It remained an echo of the voices to which Hellas had listened.

Early Rome had had, no doubt, songs of a rude and primitive nature, which time would have softened; she possessed also traditions, legends, glorious memories which would have been precious material for a national poet. But this poet never appeared; and from the time when Ennius the Calabrian¹ substituted the Greek hexameter for the old Saturnian verse, native poetry fell into neglect, and was lost without hope of recovery. Carried away by the brilliant forms of Greek literature, the Roman nobles, especially the Scipios, popularized it with a zeal that alarmed the patriotism of Cato. Every one spoke Greek,² Scipio Africanus

¹ Ennius was born in 239, and died in 169.

² The numerous hostages brought from Greece into Italy brought Greek, for many families, into the relations of private life.

no less than Paulus Aemilius, who brought home the books of Perseus, Flamininus as well as Scipio Aemilianus, who knew Homer by heart. The pontifex maximus, P. Crassus, knew all the Greek dialects, Cato himself learned the language, and Ennius opened upon the Aventine a school for instruction in Greek. The year of the battle of Pydna, Crates of Mallos, Homer's commentator, coming to Rome, gave lessons there which drew a crowd about him; and Sylla even permitted the Greek envoys to harangue the Senate in their own tongue.

Doubtless in this intercourse the rude speech of Latium gained more softness and elegance. But it did not stop with the giving of ideas: words were copied; and some went so far as to blend the two languages, like Lucilius, whose style is sometimes like a mosaic of Greek and Latin words.¹ Fabius Pictor had already, in the time of the Second Punic War, written a Roman history in Greek. Postumius Albinus, a senator, followed this example, and excused himself in his preface in case he should have made any errors in the foreign tongue; to which Cato replied: "But were you obliged to write in that language?" Flamininus, it is certain, committed no barbarisms in the Greek verses engraved on the silver bucklers he hung up on the walls of the temple at Delphi.

Horace, the most original of the Latin authors, began by Greek verses, and in the midst of his success exhorted his fellow Romans to read the Greek authors night and day. How many novelties, indeed — philosophy and science, amorous gallantry and the dainty refinements of society, lyric and elegiac verse, were now to find expression in that language which for centuries had done no more than speak the rude fact, as a weapon, which is still covered with the slag of the foundry, smites, but does not flash. At the same time, whatever Roman



DIOSCURI ON HORSEBACK.²

¹ Hor., *Sat.* I. x. 23: *Sermo lingua concinnus utraque suavior.* Cicero (*de Off.* i. 31) takes up the same ridicule, although he himself uses Greek words in almost every one of his letters to Atticus. (See also Juv., *Sat.* vi.) A praetor, Albicius, went so far as to forget his mother tongue. (See *Fragm. Lucilii.*) Lucullus wrote in Greek as well as Cicero; but the latter was careful not to leave barbarisms therein, which Lucullus did, as he said, expressly.

² P. PAETVS ROMA. The Dioscuri on horseback. Reverse of a silver coin of the Aelian family.

literature, trained in the schools of Greece, lost in originality, it gained in rapid development, by having access to their richest storehouse of literary treasures. From the time that contact was well established between Roman and Greek genius, a brilliant light shone upon Italy, and Rome produced great poets.

In this first period of Roman literature, therefore, we find everywhere the forms and the spirit of the Greek. There are translations and imitations, and even the rhythm is copied. The form which succeeds best, comedy, has nothing Roman about it, but neither is it the comedy of Aristophanes. The nobles were too powerful at Rome to suffer the liberties which the Greek poet had allowed himself at Athens, and the terrible law of the Twelve Tables against offensive verses was still in force.¹ "What folly is mine," cries Plautus, with a modesty which was really but prudence, "what folly to concern myself in public affairs, when we have magistrates to watch over them!"² They copied Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus,³ and in the plays of Plautus⁴ and Terence the reader feels himself at Athens, although the former was an Umbrian, the latter a Carthaginian. They made no secret of it: "Without the aid of an architect," says one of them, "I have transported Athens to Rome,"⁵ and he promises countless Attic jokes.⁶ The higher praise that Caesar gives to Terence is to call him a demi-Menander. Instead of a picture of national life and manners, there is nothing, except in some rare allusions, but a weak representation of the vices and follies of mankind, where art loses both force and genuineness. And still now and then Plautus remembers that he is at Rome, and the senator, hastening to the senate-house, because offices are there distributed; the poor devil who goes to receive his share of a *congiarium*; the young fop who does not hesitate to cheat a courtesan while waiting his opportunity to plunder a province; these women whose luxury exasperates Megadorus as much as it does Cato,—wives

¹ See Vol. I. p. 338.

² *Persa*, i. 2.

³ To appreciate the superiority of Menander over the Latin comic authors, his imitators, see Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ii. 23.

⁴ Plautus was born in Sarsina in Umbria, about 254, and died in 184; Terence at Carthage, and being taken by pirates in his childhood, was sold to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator. He died by shipwreck at the age of thirty-five.

⁵ *Plant.*, *Trucul.* in the *Prologue*.

⁶ *Persa*, III. i. 67.

MENANDER.³

with ten-talent dowries,¹ faithful but termagants, as a good number of those matrons must have been, whom their husbands could not hinder from making a riot on a question of toilette; the client who will not dishonor his station by carrying on business, but sells his testimony and lives upon his perjuries; the old bachelor whose sensual egotism displays itself so complacently; and the precocious profligate who threatens his slave-tutor with the whip—all these characters must indeed have lived in Rome.²

We may add another, the parasite, lately arrived from Athens, henceforth to be found in swarms around those

well-spread tables;⁴ Plautus shows him to us reading over, in

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ii. 23.

² *Trucul.* v. 80-90; *Poenulus*, 659. For other allusions of Plautus, see the *Captivi*, *Asinaria*, *Casina*, and in *Curculio* (IV. i. 478-500) his description of Rome: "Do you require a perjurer, go to the *comitium*; a liar, seek him beside the temple of Venus Cloacina . . .; in the Tuscan quarter you will find people ready to sell themselves; in the Velabrum, diviners and profligates haunting the house of Leucadia Oppia." See also in the *Menarchmi* scenes of villany in which the two heroes of the piece, though young men of good family, allow themselves to figure. At the court of Louis XIV. it was common to cheat at play; at that of Augustus a man put his hand in his neighbor's pocket (Catull., *Carmin.* xii. 25); and the usage was of considerable date then.

³ Statue in the Vatican.

⁴ Epicharmus first, and then Alexis, introduced the parasite in the Athenian theatre. See, p. 262, the words of one of the parasites of Alexis.

preparation for the next supper, his old store of jokes, or fretting about the recent importation of sun-dials so slowly marking the hours as they advance towards the appointed time for the feast. "May



A BANQUET (SYMPOSIUM).¹

R. S. Her

the gods confound him who invented hours, and was the first to place a sun-dial in this city! The traitor has cut my day up into morsels!

¹ Painting from Pompeii; illustration drawn from Nicollini, *Museo Borbonico*.

In my boyhood the appetite was a much more correct guide. Never did it fail to give me notice in time, and never was it mis-



THE GODDESS CHASTITY.²

taken,—unless, indeed, there were nothing to eat. Now, however much there may be, there is nothing to be had till it please the sun!”¹

It must be remembered that the comic poets, who profess to paint society, really depict only its eccentricities, its follies and exceptional vices; that a single verse of theirs, well turned, makes more noise in the world than the virtue of a thousand women, because that virtue, not having the theatre for its dwelling-place, is hidden from the public view. In spite of all the *Graeculi*, therefore, we must believe that there were honest people in Rome, as there doubtless were, notwithstanding Epicurus, many devout ones. The every-day life of a people only alters with extreme slowness. It is the manners of those who have lately made fortunes that

are liable to rapid change. Every day we see this in the case of individuals. Rome saw it in the case of many for whom

¹ Fragment of the *Bocotia*. These words of Plautus would put Pliny in the wrong (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 60), who says that the first sun-dial was brought to Rome by Papirius Cursor twelve years before the war with Pyrrhus. See vol. i. p. 629.

² Statue in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 124 of the Clarac Catalogue.

the passage from poverty to wealth was a sudden transition. But amidst conspicuous profligacy certain families still retain all the early austerity of Roman manners. There are still *Virginii*, who choose for their children death rather than shame.¹ There are still matrons who can enter with head erect the temple of Chastity, and upon the tomb of more than one can be inscribed, as in the case of Claudia, "Gentle in words, graceful in manner, she loved her husband devotedly; she kept her house, she spun wool" (*domum servavit, lanam fecit*).² Plautus himself puts these words in the mouth of Alcmene. "My dowry is chastity, modesty, and the fear of the gods; it is love to my kindred; it is to be submissive to my husband, kind towards good people, helpful to the brave." Lucretius, so severe upon love, grants to the wise man that he may also find happiness in a virtuous marriage, as was the case in early days, and is still possible at the present time. This Alcmene of Plautus reappears in Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio and mother of the Gracchi.

We have not a single play remaining by Caecilius, a native of Cisalpine Gaul, who has been compared with Terence, and may have aided that author's early work, but does not merit the honor of being likened to him, if we may judge by the quotations of Aulus Gellius.

Two other poets, one preceding Plautus, the other following him, Naevius, a soldier in the First Punic War, of which he sang in a poem admired by Cicero, and Lucilius, who was with Scipio Aemilianus at the siege of Numantia, had, if not more talent, at least more courage and originality. Naevius wrote in the old national rhythm, in Saturnian verse; and the Latin titles of many of his pieces show that he took pleasure in representing the manners of the lower classes at Rome.³ We know also that he did not scruple to attack the most powerful citizens. Twice his poetry gained him the honor of persecution. History must give him credit for the position he took so audaciously against the nobles,

¹ Pontius Aufidianus and Atilius Philiscus slew their daughters; Fabius Maximus Servilianus, his son; Menius, a favorite freedman. For a breach of morals a tribune of the people is condemned, and none of his colleagues interpose; a centurion dies in prison; adulterers are put to death, and no punishment is meted out to the slayer, etc. (Val. Max., VI. i. 3-13.)

² Orelli, 4848.

³ *Agitoria, Ariolus, Bubulcus, Cerdo, Figulus, Fullones, Lignaria, Tunicularia.*

and associate the name of the poor Campanian with the great struggle waged by Cato against the Scipios. Unfriendly towards the Greek influence, whose beginnings he saw, he left this inscription for his own tomb: "If the gods could weep for mortals, the muses would weep for Naevius the poet. When he went down into the treasure-house of Pluto, the Latin language was forgotten at Rome." He had reason to dread this invasion of Greek ideas and forms: the Athenian comedy (*palliata*) effaced the Roman (*togata*); and time has left almost nothing of the works of Naevius, save a few verses, among which is this one, which does him honor: "Always have I preferred liberty to wealth." Others, who like himself devoted their talents to the painting of national life, had no better fortune.¹

But Lucilius was a rich knight, friend of Aemilianus, and grand-uncle of Pompeius;² protected by his rank, he wrote with impunity thirty satires, — a style created by himself, and, thanks to Horace, Perseus, and Juvenal, one which remained very Roman. In these satires he rails at the rich and the poor, the people and the nobles, "who from morning till night run up and down the Forum, occupied with but one anxiety, to feign honesty and to deceive each other." Consuls, triumphant generals, the Metelli, Carbo, the rude Opimius, Cassius, Cotta who would not pay his creditors, Torquatus, Tuditanus "the coward," Calvus, "the bad soldier," — no man escaped his keen wit, neither Lupus, prevaricating and impious judge, nor Gallonius, the glutton, nor even "the nose of the praetor elect."³ "They believe that they can commit all crimes with impunity. They are of noble rank; that is enough to shut the mouths of all objectors." "To-day," he says elsewhere, "gold holds the place of virtue; by what thou hast thy worth will be measured." Whether

¹ Afranius, Fabius Dossennus, Titinius, Quinctius Atta, and the famous farce-writer (*Atellanae fabulae*), Pomponius of Bologna.

² According to Eusebius, he was born in 148 at Suessa Aurunca; but the true date is probably earlier. The longest of his 800 fragments has only thirteen verses. (*Lucil. reliq.*, edit. Douza.) It has been said, but without reason, that he was the first Roman of noble condition who gave a part of his life to literary pursuits. He at first gave much of his time to business; later he made a fortune in the public farms; and both Cato and Fabius Pictor had written much before his time.

³ *Nec designati rostrum praetoris*. He spared only virtue, says Horace: *uni aequus virtuti*. (Sat. II. i. 70.)

it be by chance or the result of the poet's intention, there is to be found in his fragments neither the name of Naevius nor that of Plautus, while the imitators of Greece, Ennius, Pacuvius, Caccilius, are rudely scourged. The world loves to laugh at itself. This satire on the men of his time gave Lucilius immense popularity. At his death the citizens of Rome paid, it is said, the expenses of his funeral.

TERENCE.¹

Of Terence, who, says Montaigne, has the manners of a gentleman, we have nothing to say. He is a correct poet, who never "boils over," as was said of Naevius, who addresses Laelius and Scipio rather than the

SCENE OF A COMEDY.²

crowd. He paints the characters of all time, and if he delights the scholar by the elegance of his language, he furnishes the historian with no useful fact except this, that there had at last

¹ Medal (*unique*) in the Museum of Gotha. (Visconti, *Iconog. romaine*, p. 148, No. 3.)

² Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pp. 60-61, pl. 123. It seems that the artist has borrowed the design for his fresco from the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus or the *Eunuchus* of Terence. The man with the lance may well be the swaggering bully who calls himself the *Taker-of-Cities*. In this case the actor who is speaking to him would be the slave *Palestrion*, one of the ancestors of the French Mascarille. The two old men seated at the right and left appear to be statues representing two authors, as we now place in the entrance-halls of our theatres the names or busts of writers whose pieces are played within. Theatrical masks, originally used in Athens, were first employed by actors in the *Atellanae fabulae* (see Vol. I. p. 621); they seem to have been introduced into comic representations by Roscius about the year 100. (Rutschius, *Gramm. Latinae auct. ant.* iii. 486.)

been formed at Rome a society of wits. And here we have a feature of the new Rome.

We shall only mention the dramatic attempts of Naevius and



THALIA.¹

Ennius, the *Education of Romulus* of the former and the *Siege of Ambracia* of the latter. The Greek Melpomene never crossed the Adriatic Sea. In tragedy an ideal was needed, which the Romans did not possess. Aeschylus and Sophocles lived near the gods and heroes; but the gods of Rome, shut up in the Capitol near the place where grave senators deliberated, were themselves too serious to have adventures, and her great men, soldiers of duty, wore indeed the civic crown, but had not upon their brows the aureole of

heroes. Neither could supply a great poetic inspiration.

The general tendency of the Roman literature of this period is, like that of the Greek at the same epoch, towards impiety. It has already been said that Ennius translated the book of Euhemerus; in his fragments, and in those of Pacuvius, the augurs, auruspices, and soothsayers are seen to mock upon the stage,

¹ *Museo Pio Clementino*, vol. i. pl. 18, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 509, No. 1,025. This statue was found in the olive-grove at Tivoli, in the place called Pianella di Cassio. Any sitting representations of the comic muse are rare.

amid the applause of the people, says Cicero, those gods whom in the temples they worshipped.¹ Lucilius, who no more spared the denizens of heaven than of earth, represents the twelve great gods seated in council and laughing at mankind who call them fathers; Neptune, also, being embarrassed in a discussion where he was getting the worst of it, saying by way of excuse that Carneades himself could not have argued his way out.² Again he mocks at the Romans "prostrate and trembling before those vain images invented by Numa, like children who take statues for living beings, giving life to bronze and marble, taking for truth that which is only a lie." From time to time Plautus is tempted to believe in a supreme being and in divine providence; his *Rudens* has a certain moral and religious tone. The play opens with a prologue recited by a divine personage, the star Arcturus

MELPOMENE.³

¹ *De Div.* ii. 50: *Ennius, qui magno plausu loquitur, adsentiente populo: Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus.* Elsewhere he says, in the character of Telamon (*Cic., de Nat. deor.* iii. 32): *Cur di homines negligent: nam si curent, bene bonis sit; male malis; quod nunc abest.* Cicero assures us that in his time it was the opinion of many philosophers: . . . *nec irasci deum, nec nocere.* (*De Off.* iii. 28.) He speaks of the oracles with very little respect (*de Div.* ii. 56), and believes that the representations that have been made of the Elysian Fields are *somnia optantis, non probantis.* Caesar openly professed atheism. (Cf. Martha, *Lucrèce*, p. 130, *seq.*)

² *Cic., de Rep.* iii. 6. He also derided the worship of images: *eorum stultitiam qui simulacra deos putant esse deridet.* (*Lact., Inst. Div.* xiv. 22.)

³ Colossal statue in the Louvre, believed to have adorned the theatre of Pompeii; No. 348
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appearing on the stage in the midst of clouds, his forehead surrounded with a starry aureole, and saying to the spectators: "I am a dweller in the sky, one of those genii who rule the night



ANUBIS.

amongst the stars, whom by day Jupiter sends to earth to watch the actions of men and report to him faithfully thereon.¹ He revises the sentences of the judges and of those in authority; if a man gains his cause by intrigue and fraud, he amends which Jupiter inflicts sooner or later greatly exceed the unjust gain. By his orders crimes and virtues are inscribed upon the eternal registers. It is I who have to-day called down a tempest upon the traitor, whom you will see dragging himself upon the shore."² But all these gods, reciters of prologues, are not equally respectable; his Jupiter is of scandalous behavior. And what must the devout have thought when Plautus represents the father of gods and men inhaling the odor that

arises from the frying-pans of a chattering cook, or going to bed

of the *Clarae* catalogue. Rome had some translations or imitations of the Greek tragedies, especially of those of Euripides. The writings of Accius, some of which were on Roman subjects, have been lost. Cicero (*pro Plancio*, 24; *pro Sestio*, 56) speaks of him with high praise; there remains from his *Prometheus* a monologue not unworthy of Aeschylus. (Egger, *Lat. serm. vet. reliq.*, p. 197; cf. Neukirch, *Diss. de Fab. togata ac de L. Afranio*; Bothe, *Poet. scen. latin.*, and Maittaire, *Oper. et fr. vet. poet. lat.*)

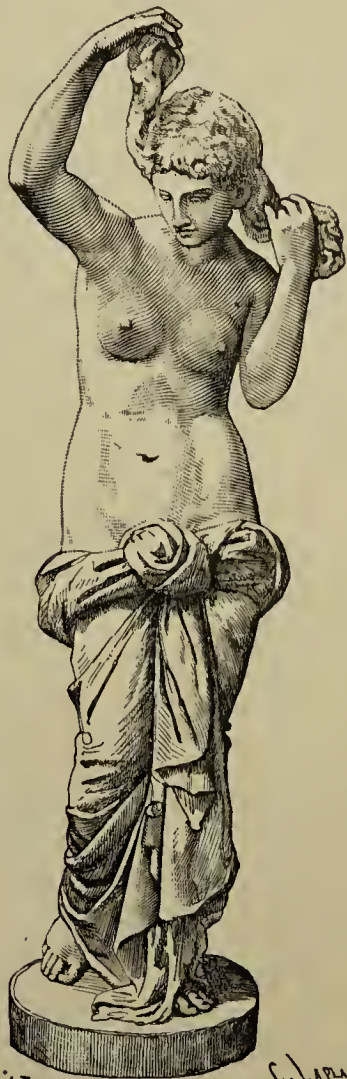
¹ *Est profecto deus qui quae nos gerimus auditque et videt.* (Capt. 242.)

² Naudet, vol. viii. p. 233 of his translation of Plautus.

³ Anubis (*Musée Capitolin*, iii. pl. 85). A Roman statue found at Porto d'Anzio (Antium)

without his supper when this cook did not work for him, or when Sosia explains that the day is late in appearing because Apollo is lazy after drinking too much the night before.¹ A little later than this buffoons exhibited daily to the people "Anubis the adulterer, Diana beaten with rods, and three starved Hercules."²

A poet of the next age, but in style and thought kindred to the time of which we speak, Lucretius, has developed with eloquent audacity the materialistic doctrines of Epicurus. He has come, he says, to free men's minds from the chains of superstition,³ to lift up the hearts that are bowed with fear, to put an end to those offerings of victims that men in their terror are constantly bringing to the altars. In his magnificent invocation in the first book he addresses Venus; but he means the Venus who is Nature herself, repairing with her mighty forces the ravages made by death. The gods he relegates to some distant abode where they repose in idleness, no longer concerned with the affairs of men, and

VENUS ANADYOMENE.⁴

in 1749, showing the blending of Roman and Egyptian ideas. Instead of the head of the jackal, which the Egyptians give to their Anubis, leader of souls, we find a dog's head; the caduceus of Mercury, also the leader of souls into the infernal regions, takes the place of the sceptre with greyhound's head, and the left hand holds a sistrum. This sacred instrument was made of bronze, silver, or gold, and consisted of three or four metallic rods loosely inserted in an oval frame; it was shaken at the festivals of Isis, giving forth musical sounds. Plutarch (*de Iside et Osir.*) maintained that it symbolized the four elements composing the world, by means of which all things are constantly destroyed and recomposed.

¹ *Pseudolus*, 854 and 860.

² Tertull., *Apol.* 15.

³ *Religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo* (i. 931); and he terminates the sacrifice of Iphigenia with the famous verse:

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

⁴ Or Venus rising from the waves. Museum of the Vatican, *nuovo braccio*, No. 90.

the very thunderbolt itself is no longer the weapon of divine vengeance. He speaks of it as "that blind flame which falls upon the temples of the gods, which wastes itself in deserts or upon the sea, and passes by the guilty man to smite an innocent head." In the creation all things are explained for him by physical causes, and he clothes this empiricism in the most magnificent poetry. "The thunder is the wind taking fire from the rapidity of its motion; life is the rapid succession of beings dissolving and re-forming;¹ death, the unalterable calm of the sweetest sleep; and hell, an invention of poets or of the timorous conscience



SISYPHUS.

IXION UPON THE WHEEL.²

TANTALUS.

of the guilty. This Tantalus, chilled with terror under the rock which threatens him, is only the human being alarmed at imaginary threats of the gods, and believing himself overwhelmed by their anger, under the woes which a blind destiny brings upon him. What being could suffer eternal pains and furnish eternal food to

¹ The principle of modern science: nothing perishes, all is transformed.

² From a bas-relief engraved in the magnificent edition of the *Aeneid*, published by the Duchess of Devonshire (*L'Eneide di Virgilio recata in versi italiani da Annibale Caro*, 1819; 2 vols. fol.; 164 copies only printed). The Greeks were not disposed to represent sad or terrible subjects; we have, accordingly, few representations of punishments. We give those of the three most famous of the immortal sufferers of paganism: Ixion upon his wheel; Sisyphus bearing his rock to the summit of the hill whence it forever falls back; Tantalus a prey to devouring thirst, and trying with his two hands to bring to his lips the water which forever flows below them. A famous picture of Polygnotus in the *Lesche* at Delphi represented Tantalus plunged in water, a tree loaded with fruit out of reach above him, and a rock forever threatening to fall upon him. (Pausan., x. 51, § 1.)

his tormentors? To fill one's soul with all good and never satisfy it, is not that the punishment of those maidens who endlessly pour the flying stream into a bottomless vase? Like man, the world also will die. Some day, and perhaps you yourself may behold it, this great vault, battered by the shocks of doom, will give way, and then burning fragments will be scattered through space. These verities," he dares to add, "are surer than the oracles from Apollo's tripod."¹

Presently Caesar in the open Senate declares that death is the end of all; and Cicero, the man who wrote the *Dream of Scipio*, will treat as an idle fable the doctrine of a life to come.² " . . . What harm can death do us, unless, believing in childish stories, we think the wicked may suffer punishment in hell. If, however, these be chimeras, as no one doubts,³ what is it that death takes from us? The feeling of pain." And notwithstanding all the hypocritical worship that the official world lavished upon them in the temples, the gods were none the less dead; people's minds in growing more enlightened saw the folly of those fables created by the imagination of childish days, and as they became older, they had less and less need of the gods.

But not alone did the old religion vanish away; the very earliest virtue of Rome, patriotism, began to lose itself in that immense empire, where it was no longer clear where the affection should be directed. Lucilius satirizes that Albutius who "preferred to be at Athens rather than at Rome, and those who in the very Forum salute with the Greek *Χαῖρε!*" In vain does he say that "a man should subordinate his personal interests to those of his neighbors, and the interest of his neighbors to that of his country;" here is Lucretius writing a poem of 7,000 or 8,000 lines, and never, save once, and by chance, introducing the Roman name.⁴ And yet Rome had more than ever need of resolute and devoted citizens; but it is not the poetry of Lucretius, splendid as it was, that could give them to her: "Sweet is it, when the tempest raises the

¹ Vergil also believed that there would be an end to the world; but he hoped for its renewal.

² *Pro Cluentio*, 61: . . . *ineptiis ac fabulis*.

³ *Quae si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt* . . . (*ibid.*).

⁴ The line where he supplicates Venus to beg from Mars an end to conflicts:

. . . *petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.*

mighty sea, to contemplate from the shore the mariner tossed by the waves . . . to look upon perils which one does not incur, to be a spectator of battles waged in the plain and have no share in the danger. But sweeter yet it is to dwell upon the serene heights of science, in the inviolable sanctuaries which the thoughts of the wise have constructed, whence one sees afar off men wandering to and fro in life, striving for the rewards of genius, disputing for precedence, and exhausting themselves night and day with infinite efforts to seize upon power and fortune. O miserable human beings! blinded minds, who do not understand what is needed for the soul; namely, to be delivered from cares and from superstitious fears."

This is fine rhetoric; but the poem can never be a lesson in patriotism. Before the time of Lucretius, another author trained in the school of Greece, Pacuvius the Apulian, had said: "Your native country? it is the place where you live most at your ease."¹

Heaven and hell correspond; he who denies one denies the other. It was no longer believed that there were rewards and penalties beyond the grave. Men of letters ceased to speak of that sad and silent life of the shades so dear to the Roman of early days.² Panaetius, the Stoic, a friend of Aemilianus, maintained, with most of the rhetoricians gathered in Rome, that the soul perishes together with the body.³ Catullus repeats it in much-imitated verse: "The sun may be set and rise again; but we, when once the fugitive light of our days is gone, must sleep in an eternal night."⁴ It is needless to ask Lucretius what he thinks on this subject; we know it already. But a poet born before the Second Punic War, more allied, consequently, to the earlier manners, ends human destiny at the grave as the play ends at the theatre, — with the call for applause: *Plaudite, cives*. In the epitaph which he composed for himself, he says: "Young man, passing by so quickly, this stone calls to thee: look and read.

¹ Cic., *Tuscul.* v. 37. Pacuvius, the nephew of Ennius, was born at Brundisium about 220, and died at Tarentum in 132. He cultivated the two arts, painting and poetry, thus following the example of Fabius Pictor.

² See Vol. I. p. 210.

³ Cic., *de Amic.* 4.

⁴ *Carm.* v. 4-7. [Adapted from Moschus.]

Here are the bones of Pacuvius, the poet. I have nothing else to teach thee. Farewell.”¹ Lucilius says no more than this.

Of all these adversaries, Roman polytheism found Lucretius the most formidable; for he substituted the immutable laws of nature in place of the caprices of the gods, and followed up sarcasm which had made men laugh by a system which made them think. Everybody read his poems and borrowed from them, even Vergil, who at least pays him homage in these noble lines: “Happy he who has known how to penetrate the first causes of things, and tread under foot puerile terrors, inexorable destiny, and the vain sounds of greedy Acheron.”² No one, however, quotes him; the religious hypocrisy of official society forbade the mention of the illustrious reprobate.

The direct influence of Greece is not visible in Roman prose. Fabius Pictor, whom Polybius regards with but little respect, had probably read neither Herodotus nor Thucydides; at least, nothing of the grace of the one or the depth of the other appears in the little we have left of his [Greek] writings.³ Cato also was purely Roman in his treatise, *de Re rustica*, which we have, and in his *Origines*, which is one of our greatest losses. There remain to us the names of a great number of annalists, whose works would be precious for the historian, but doubtless not so for the man of literary taste. One of them, however, Cassius Hemina, seems to have been a scholar; for Sallust has not disdained to borrow from him this thought: *Omnia orta occidunt et aucta senescunt*, “All that has been born must die; all that has grown must decay.”⁴



¹ The authenticity of these lines has been disputed; if they are not by Pacuvius, they belong, however, to his age.

² *Georg.* ii. 490. (Strangely enough, Cicero says, he writes: *Majore cura quam ingenio.*)

³ See Vol. I. p. 220.

⁴ *Jug.* 2. Hemina's words are: *Quae nata sunt ea omnia denasci aiunt.* (Nonius, s. v. *denasci.*)

In a Republic, the platform is a battle-field, where he who can conquer wins all honor and power. Often enough eloquence even takes the place of wisdom and experience, words having more value than action. At Rome, where certainly men were capable of action, the art of persuasion was also cultivated. These assemblies of Senate and people, these tribunals in the open air, this custom of funeral orations and military harangues, had formed great orators at Rome before men had read by the banks of the Tiber a *Philippic* of Demosthenes, or one of the elaborate discourses of Isocrates.

All the harangues that we read in Livy were constructed by himself, and we dare not quote them as specimens of the early Latin eloquence. But from the time of Cicero certain addresses are preserved, which he greatly admired. The last century of the Republic was fruitful in great orators; at their head stand Cato and Caius Gracchus, of whom we shall speak later. After them two men eclipsed all others in the Forum: Antonius and Crassus. Thanks to Cicero, the first has great renown as an orator; we willingly add to this another distinction, for he was the finished type of the advocate who considers himself above all an artist in the use of language, to whom success is the one thing desired, whatever be the means employed to obtain it or the nature of the cause for which he pleads. For this reason he would never write any of his public addresses, so that he could always deny his words, if he were at any time charged with contradicting himself. This able man, who boasted of owing nothing to Greece, had then no need to study the sophistries of Athens, having them all within himself.

Crassus, his rival, possessed true eloquence; we will quote some of his burning words,—which show, besides, a scene in the Roman Forum. Pleading one day against a profligate young man, M. Brutus, who dishonored his rank by an idle life, he perceives the funeral procession of a certain Junia, his adversary's aunt, entering the Forum; upon this he stops, and exclaims: "What will you, Brutus, that this woman should recount to your father, to the illustrious men whose statues you see carried there, to that Brutus who delivered the Roman people from the tyranny of the kings? What will she say of your occupations? To what duties, what

honor, what virtue will she represent you as devoted? Is it to augmenting your patrimony? None remains to you; your excesses have devoured it. To the study of law? That has been handed down to you by your father; but she will say that in selling your house you did not even reserve from the paternal furniture the consulting chair of the jurisconsult. To military science? but you have never seen a camp. To eloquence? but you have prostituted whatever talent of this kind you may have to the infamous trade of calumny. And you dare to look your judges in the face! you dare to present yourself in the Forum before the eyes of your fellow-citizens! And you do not tremble with shame in the presence of this dead woman, and before the pageant of your ancestors!"¹

Men capable of speaking thus had no occasion to borrow from the Greeks. The latter, however, assumed to give them rhetorical precepts, — which never made an orator, — and they furnished to them certainly very dangerous examples. The rhetoricians had made an art of language; but they enervated thought while striving to guide it, and the idea was of little importance to them, provided the expression had a pleasing melody. Cicero owed to them the excessive luxuriance of his earlier works.²

Jurisprudence was also a purely Roman product. Notwithstanding some foreign importations, the decemviral code is truly indigenous in its spirit and as a whole; as a science, however, Roman law borrowed its principles from Greece. The brevity of the Twelve Tables, the confusion introduced into legislation by the diversity of the praetorian edicts (*lex annua*), the difficulty of mastering the formulae and allegorical pantomimes used in legal proceedings,³ had already produced a class of men who devoted

¹ Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 55. [He refers to the wax masks worn by mutes in state dress at funerals.]

² He himself condemns the turgidity of certain passages, — in the *pro Roscio*, for example.

³ There existed no more juridic secrets after S. Aelius Paetus had published, about the year 201, his book of the *Tripartites* or *jus Aelianum*, containing the text of the Twelve Tables, their interpretation, and the *legis actiones*. To establish one's right, it was necessary at first to perform certain acts: *manus injectio*, *manuum consertio*, *pignoris captio*, etc., and to pronounce certain formulae. The *legis actiones* were abolished, except in a few cases, by the Aebutian and Julian laws, whose date is uncertain. (Gaius, iv. 30; Aul. Gell., xvi. 10.) In the *pro Murena* (i. 12 and 13) Cicero ridicules the jurisconsults: "Busy as I am, if you urge me to it, in three days I will become a great jurisconsult;" but elsewhere he renders them full justice.

themselves to the explanation of the laws. Coruncanus, the first plebeian who attained, about the year 254, the grand pontificate, had founded the public instruction in jurisprudence, and Aelius Paetus, at the beginning of the second century before Christ, had revealed all the secrets connected with the forms of justice. Following their example, a few of the most important citizens devoted themselves to this new cult, and the *responsa*¹ of the jurisconsults became a new source, and perhaps the most abundant one, of Roman law.

The science thus taking shape from day to day in accordance with the needs of the moment, lacked a rational principle. In Greece, meantime, Chrysippus, the Stoic philosopher, had founded a theory of jurisprudence, proclaiming a natural law, "queen and sovereign of all things human and divine."² Men, being equal and social, he said, there existed between them necessary relations whence reason should deduce laws. The civil law, therefore, was no longer to be regarded as the effect of arbitrary agreements;³ tradition, usage, texts, must no longer have an absolute authority, and the strange customs and imperative formulas of a forgotten juridic conflict, must be submitted to the reason. Scaevola, the great jurisconsult, a Stoic like Chrysippus, whom we shall presently see playing a part in the tragedy of the Gracchi worthy of his eminent character, commenced this revolution in Rome. Cicero continued it in his magnificent definition of moral law. "There is a law which no man has written, but which is born in us, which we have neither learned from our teachers, nor received from our fathers, nor read in books; we have it from Nature herself;"⁴ — "an immutable law, calling us to goodness by its commands, deterring us from evil by its threats, which neither Senate nor people can abrogate. It is not one law at Rome and another at Athens; one to-day and another to-morrow. Eternal, unalterable, it rules at once all nations and all times."⁵ Elsewhere, he says again: "The law is nature; and nature being such that all the human race are bound by a sort of civil right,

¹ *Justitia cujus merito quis sacerdotes nos appellet.* (Ulpian, in the *Dig.* I. i. 1.)

² 'Ο νόμος πάντων ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. (*Dig.* I. iii. 2.)

³ Cic., *de Fin. bon.* iii. 20.

⁴ *Pro Milone*, 4.

⁵ *De Rep.* iii. 22.

he who respects that right is just; he who violates it is unjust.”¹

These were indeed novelties. The patricians, who had defended with so jealous a zeal the evil laws of early days, might have shuddered in their tombs at such utterances. The Twelve Tables still remained a monument venerable for its antiquity; Aelius Paetus had just prepared an edition of them with commentaries; but the study of the pontifical law, that is to say, the religious part of the civil laws, had fallen into disuse,² to the great profit of jurisprudence, properly so called, for it was freed from the bonds which all religions seek to render immutable, and answered the developments of life by enlarging the narrow circle of legal precepts, and bringing into them at once more justice and more humanity.

Cicero reproaches Scaevola with bringing legal advantages within reach of those who sought to withdraw themselves from the obligations of the *sacra gentilitia*.³ The absolute authority of the father and of the husband was breaking down. The *remancipatio* permitted the woman to ask for divorce; and the *diffarreatio* broke even unions which the pontifex maximus and the *flamen* of Jupiter had solemnized.⁴ Finally, by successive developments of the theory of *peculium* (private property), and by the institution of the dowry, they went on to authorize the son and the wife to hold property independently of the head of the family, thus rendering possible what early Rome had never seen,—a son summoning his father to appear in court.⁵ If, however, the family tie was in a degree relaxed, it was not broken, and neither the son nor the wife was excused from any of their obligations of respect and obedience. With the increased liberty for individuals came also liberty in

¹ *De Finibus*, iii. 20 and 21. In chap. i. 5, he says again: “We must seek in the breast of philosophy the source of right,” *penitus ex intima philosophia*.

² Cic., *de Orat.* iii. 33.

³ *De Leg.* ii. 19–21; *de Orat.* i. 56; and *Topic.* 4, 6, where Scaevola’s definition of *gentiles* is found.

⁴ See in Cicero (*ad Fam.* viii. 7) the piquant letter of the clever Caelius. Marriages by *confarreatio* were growing rarer every day, and unions by simple consent took their place.

⁵ They introduced also a new kind of guardianship, *genera tutorum quae potestate feminarum continentur* (Cic., *pro Mur.* 12), the testamentary tablets (Gaius, ii. 119; Ulpian, fr. 28, 6), and the *trustee*, until this time unknown to the Roman jurisprudence. To evade the Voconian law, an heir was appointed capable of inheriting legally, who made an agreement to transmit the inheritance to the person whom the law excluded.

respect to property: parallel with Quiritarian ownership was placed bonitarian possession, in the end entirely supplanting the former.¹

Religious duties required that there should always be an heir established, so that the family sacrifices be never interrupted. On the other hand, the Twelve Tables had left the citizen the right to dispose of his property freely by gift or legacy. The Furian law (183) and the Voconian law (169) restricted this right, and the Falcidian law later (40) established the rule that not over three fourths of an estate could be left as legacies. The Plaetorian law protected against himself the citizen under twenty-five years of age,² establishing a severe penalty for creditors who had taken advantage of his inexperience.³ The old law, *horrendum carmen*, did not contain these paternal precautions.

These serious juriconsults, lovers of the past, but also lovers of justice, attained by the influence of historic circumstances, much more than by the doctrines of Stoic philosophy, a more humane conception of law. The growth of the Republic had brought with it the development of ideas, and new social relations had called for new legal rules. The edicts of the governors of provinces, more especially those of the *praetor peregrinus*, founded necessarily upon the maxims of the *jus gentium*, which were more equitable than those of the *jus civile*, contributed much to this infiltration of the law of nations into the civil law. Those versed in law, and the magistrates themselves, favored unconsciously the process of evolution, which was to substitute the broader spirit of universal citizenship for the narrow and jealous spirit of the Roman city.

This evolution is marked everywhere by the same sign, — a breaking away from old methods. In legislation we see usage, *mos majorum*, formerly so powerful that it took the place of law, forced to yield more and more to logical deductions from new principles. Philosophy does not concern herself with public affairs,

¹ See in the Code (vii. 15) how scornfully Justinian speaks of Quiritarian ownership, which he considers an *antiquae subtilitatis ludibrium*, and in the *Digest* (xxxviii. 1, 3, § 2) the definition which Ulpian gives of *bonorum possessio*. Cf. Giraud, *Histoire des droits rom.* and in the *Journal des savants*, of 1879, the treatise on *les Successions en droit romain*.

² The date of this law is uncertain, but was anterior to the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, in which it is mentioned (I. iii. 69).

³ Cicero, *de Nat. deor.* iii. 30. There was at this time *judicium publicum* against the creditor, while twenty-five years earlier, the debtor complaining of a fraud had against his adversary only the *actio de dolo malo*; it was a private quarrel.

her business is with morals; vainly does Comedy wear the pallium or the toga, in truth she is neither of Athens nor of Rome; even when she copies characters and depicts manners, there is something general about her which cannot be shut in a city's walls. A slave in Plautus dares to say to his master the words which revolted serfs in the Middle Ages will repeat: "But I am a man like yourself;"¹ and Lucilius, a Roman of the old school, honors one of his slaves with a tomb and an epitaph: "Here lies a slave, faithful to his master, who never did harm to any person, Metrophanes, the dependant of Lucilius." Observe that where the



THE GAMES OF THE CIRCUS.²

citizen ceases, the man begins. By degrees, humanity comes in. Cicero utters the word later, and already Terence has written his famous line [received with acclamations]:

"Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto."

Thus we find, in this Roman transformation, together with the dissolution of the morals and religious faith of early times, those forces of renewal which were to make Rome the second and glorious stage of classic civilization. Unhappily, this transformation was not general. Whilst the nobles became Hellenized, the people remained in their native rudeness. They interested themselves little in these new arts, this dawning literature, which remained as it were a foreign importation, useful merely to amuse

¹ . . . *Tam ego homo sum quam tu.* (*Asin.* II. iv. 83.)

² From a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Vatican, No. 456. See, Vol. I. p. 623, a bas-relief from the Louvre representing the same subject.

the minds of the great.' Instead of that intelligent and vivacious people, which crowded the marble seats of the theatre of Dionysus, under the shadow of the Parthenon, and appreciated the most delicate points, the Roman *plebs*, standing up in their wooden theatres, lent attention only to loose pantomime, to the coarse mimicry, which was the only debt of the poet to those whom Horace disrespectfully calls asses. Twice the *Hecyra* of Terence was deserted by the spectators for a boxing match or a combat of gladiators.² "If Democritus were yet alive," says Horace, "he

BOAR HUNT.¹

would laugh to see the audience playing him a better comedy than the actors. And the author might as well relate his fiction to an ass — nay, to a deaf ass. And indeed, what stentor's voice could sound above the noises of our theatres? It is like the roar of the forests of Mount Garganus, or the waves of the Tyrrhenian Sea."³

¹ From a painting on the tomb of the Nasos, in the Flaminian Way.

² The usage of gladiatorial combats was brought from Greece in 186 by Fulvius Nobilior. At the funeral games on the death of Valerius Laevinus in 200, twenty-five couples of gladiators fought. (Livy, xxxi. 50.) These games lasted four days; those of Fulvius Nobilior and Scipio Asiaticus continued for ten days. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 182 a law fixed the maximum of expense allowed for these games, but it shortly fell into disuse. Aemilius Scaurus exhibited, in 58, five crocodiles, a hippopotamus, and 150 panthers. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 40, and Val. Max., II. iv. 6.) About the year 198 there was an ostrich-race. As with us at the present day, dramatic acting on the stage was overlaid with all the effects of scenery. Of this Horace complained sharply. Before his time Cicero had asked why, at the representation of *Clytemnestra*, an immense number of mules should be on the stage, and thousands of bucklers in *The Trojan Horse*, etc., etc.

³ Horace, *Epist.* II. i. 194, *seq.*

Among the nobles themselves, some, it is true, either retained, or affected to retain, the primitive rusticity of Roman manners. After the sack of Corinth, Mummius, seeing Attalus offer a great sum of money for a picture on which his soldiers were throwing dice, believed that the canvas had some mysterious virtue, and required it to be given up to him. When he sent his precious booty to Rome, he notified the pilot that any pictures or statues

MUSICIANS.¹

lost or damaged on the voyage must be replaced.² Anicius, the conqueror of Illyria, had no more refinement in his taste for music; he had called together upon one stage the most celebrated musicians of Greece; but as they played the same air altogether, he regarded this as a very unsatisfactory performance, and called

¹ Mosaic of Dioseorides at Pompeii. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pl. 124.)

² Vell. Pat., i. 13. What is said of the barbarism of the Roman soldiers is but too true; Polybius (xl. 7) saw them throwing dice on the famous picture of Aristides, which represented Dionysus; but is the ignorance of Mummius equally well established? There were scholars in his family; his brother wrote from the camp of Corinth letters which a century later were valued for their eleverness, and Mummius himself gained the esteem of the Greeks by the respect he showed for their gods and their customs.

out to them to play different airs, in order the better to earn their wages.¹

Rome, therefore, in respect to art remained a semi-barbarous city,² notwithstanding the immense number of pictures and statues heaped in her temples and public squares and porticos. In vain did her consuls adorn her with the spoils of the world; in vain did they covet for her the beauty of Athens and Corinth: art,³ brought home as part of the plunder, with the baggage of the

army, became, on the banks of the Tiber, a mercenary labor, abandoned to the freedmen; and its nature is too noble to endure servitude; like poetry, it requires a lofty soul and free hands.



SUN-DIAL OR GNOMON.⁴

The Romans were even less capable of science than of art. When a sun-dial was brought from Catana to Rome, in the year 263, no one ever suspected that the difference of three degrees in the longitude of the two cities ought to set the dial back at Rome, nor was it until a century later that this error was corrected. In 158 Scipio Nasica brought home the first water-clock by which the time of day could be

marked in the absence of sunshine. But a people who saw a sign from heaven in every natural phenomenon could not study Nature for the purpose of discovering her laws. The verses of Lucretius did not prevent the Roman, when he heard the thunder rumbling overhead, from experiencing the same anxiety as the peasant of to-day, who makes the sign of the cross

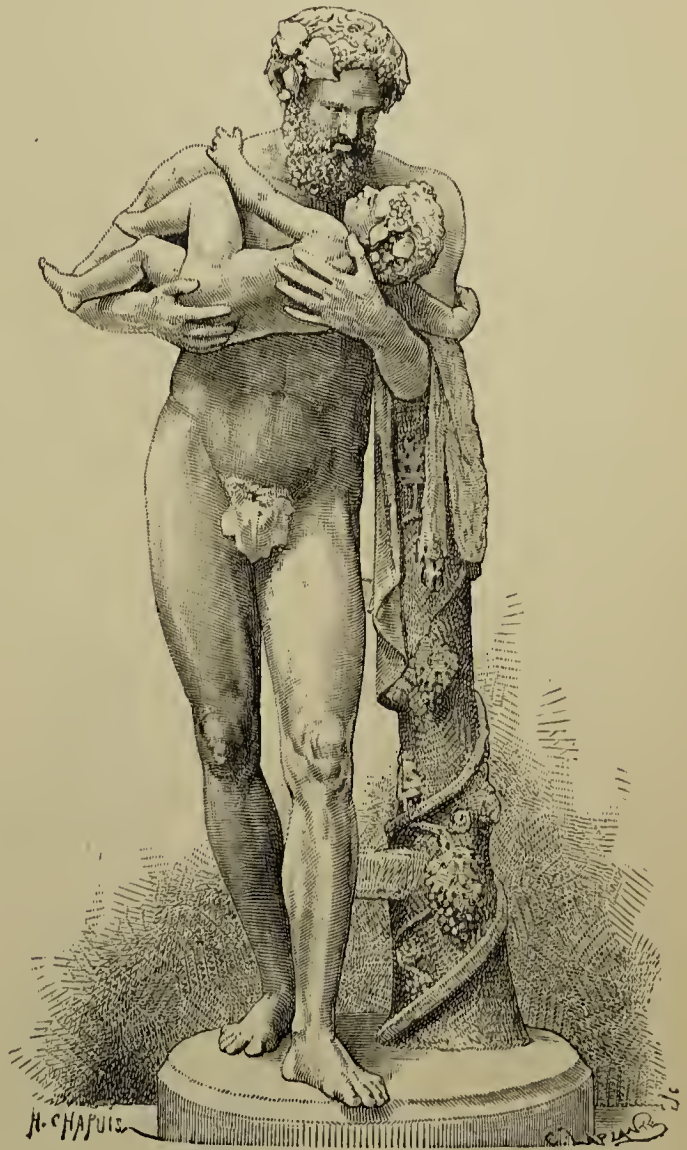
¹ See the account of this grotesque scene in Polybius, xxx. 13.

² The city was not even paved until 174, the time when Fulvius and Postumius Albinus were censors.

³ The artists and architects of the time were all of them Greeks. (Pol. xxx. 13; Livy. xxxix. 22.)

⁴ Gnomon brought from Pergamus. Museum of the Louvre, No. 800 of the Clareae catalogue.

when he sees the flash of lightning. Furthermore, it was an easy task for the Roman religion to deter its believers from scrutinizing that world whose conquest the moderns have undertaken. And even if rebels against the gods of the Capitol did exist in Rome, still their early education had given their minds a bias on the subject which was never removed. These conquerors of the world used, moreover, to say to themselves that science and art were the share of the conquered, nay, even the cause of their defeat; and Vergil expresses a characteristically Roman sentiment when he says: "Let others make the bronze breathe and draw living forms from marble; let them plead eloquently, and expound the celestial motions, and the rising of the stars; but thou, Roman people, forget not that to govern the nations, to impose peace upon them, to humble the proud and spare the lowly, these are thy arts."²



FAUNUS WITH THE CHILD, OR SILENUS AND BACCHUS.¹

None ever knew as Rome did, how to conquer and to preserve

¹ We have no reason to doubt that this famous group, found in the sixteenth century in the place where were formerly the gardens of Sallust, and regarded as a work belonging to the school of Praxiteles, was brought to Rome among other spoils. (Museum of the Louvre, Fröhner, No. 250, and Clarac, No. 699.)

² *Aeneid*, vi. 847-853.

her conquests; but in the matter of civilization she was always superficial. The higher portion of society alone became enlightened, and this very enlightenment not penetrating to the lower strata, merely widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. Hence this mingling in the same people of elegance and coarseness, or scepticism and superstition, of lofty studies and of savage amusements, of austerity in some, and nameless debauchery in others. To-day in the social body the plebeian blood forever rises and renews the impoverished vitality of the governing classes. In Rome, at the time which we are now considering, this was no longer the case; between the great and the humble there was, as we shall show, an abyss, into which the Republic was destined to fall.

¹ Rome armed with the aegis, and seated upon the Capitoline rock, — a symbol of the solidity of her power. (Museum of the Louvre, Nos. 1 and 2 of the Clarac catalogue.)



ROME, MISTRESS OF THE WORLD.¹

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHANGES IN THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

I. APPARENT STABILITY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

IN the preceding pages we have examined the influence that Greece and the East and the new conditions of Roman life exerted upon private morals and manners, upon religion, literature, and jurisprudence. We shall now consider the effect of all these wars and conquests upon the social and political condition of Rome.

Two centuries of battles, in giving to Rome Italy and ten provinces, had constituted an empire that could no longer be governed by the orators of the *conciones* or the crowd of the Forum. The wider the sway extended the more centralized the government necessarily became, and it had passed naturally from the *comitium* to the *curia*, from the people to the Senate, without abdication on the one hand or usurpation on the other. It cannot be too often repeated that historic circumstances end by creating a force which drives societies towards a future they had not dreamed of. Thus it happened at Rome. What would have been the astonishment of the founders of republican equality if they could have seen these plebeians, for whom they had fought so often, becoming a debased multitude, indifferent to public affairs, and these patricians, whom they had condemned to the division of their rights, recovering a power and a fortune well-nigh regal.

And yet, on the surface, all things seemed to remain in their former condition. "The Second Punic War," says Sallust, "had put an end to civil discords."¹ Peace and union prevailed in the city; the people were docile, the Senate moderate, the

¹ De Brosses, *Hist. de la Rép. rom.* i. 260.

tribunes pacific, and the powerful and peaceful Republic seemed advancing towards a long and brilliant future. The sovereignty still was vested in the people, assembled in *comitia* by centuries and by tribes, the centuries appointing the higher magistrates and exercising jurisdiction in grave criminal cases, the tribes electing the inferior magistrates and judging in causes of secondary importance, both making laws and *plebiscita* equally obligatory upon all citizens. The rich had the majority in the centuries; and if the city tribes, where the common people and the freedmen had the majority, escaped from their leadership, the possession of vast domains restored to them their influence in the rural tribes, so that unless some popular feeling united all the poorer classes in one opinion, the rich disposed of thirty-one out of thirty-five votes. But these popular excitements, destined later to become formidable, were at the time of which we speak becoming every day more infrequent. Vainly did Flaminius and Varro, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, seek to reanimate the old disputes. The tribunes, formerly party chiefs, were now members of the government, and respected in the Senate, which they could convoke by their own authority, like a consul.¹ Therefore they were upon the side of order, justice, and morality. In 198 Porcius Lecca compelled a praetor to renounce an ovation which he had unjustly obtained from the Senate.² Flaminius offered himself as a candidate for the consulship on the expiration of his term of office as quaestor; the tribunes opposed this in the name of the law, and later, when he had justified the confidence of the people by his services, they caused him to continue in the command that he held, notwithstanding the opposition of the consuls. Two generals, long left in Spain, instigated a *plebiscitum*, which recalled them.³ A consul was anxious to recommence the war with Philip immediately after the battle of Cynoscephalae, and the tribunes opposed their *veto*;⁴ many times they humiliated the consular authority, and once they went so far as to threaten with imprisonment the two censors then in office.⁵

¹ It is not known in what year they gained possession of this important right, *jus referendi*, but they were in possession of it as early as 216. (Livy, xxii. 61.)

² Livy, xxxii. 7.

³ Livy, xxxi. 50.

⁴ Livy, xxxiii. 25.

⁵ Livy, xliii. 16. Twice they imprisoned consuls.

Their power was great, for they could by the plebiscita and by their veto do or stop anything. Their authority was not contested, because they who had been chiefs of the plebeians sat now among the rulers of the entire people, and the Voleros of an earlier day had become nobles in this. Thus we see the most illustrious persons held the office of tribune, — Marcellus, Fulvius Nobilior, Calpurnius Piso, who was afterward twice consul, Semp. Gracchus, censor, twice consul and general honored with a triumph, Metellus Numidicus, Aelius Paetus, and Scaevola, the great jurisconsult. Rendered illustrious by names like these, the tribuneship of the time had no longer the revolutionary character it once possessed. It was a high magistracy to which were due the best laws of the time — the *Villia* (180), the *Voconia* (169), the *Orchia* (181), the institution of permanent tribunals (149), the establishment of the ballot, and very frequent accusations against *prevaricators*.¹ Faithful to their origin and to the policy which had rendered Rome so strong, they asked in 188 for the right of suffrage for Fundi, Formiae, and Arpinum, the future birthplace of Marius and of Cicero. For the soldiers of Scipio and for the veterans of the Second Punic War the tribunes obtained grants of land;³ they caused the sale of corn at a low price to the people;⁴ and in the space of twenty years they were instrumental in founding twenty-three colonies.⁵ At their instigation the aediles prosecuted the farmers of the public pasture lands, the usurers, and their Italian confederates.⁶ Finally, the



PORCIUS
LECCA.²

¹ [*Prevaricating* was collusion with an adversary in a suit. — *Ed.*] For all these laws, see in § iii. of the thirty-seventh chapter, on the censorship of Cato. In the year 142, a praetor allowing himself to be bribed by men accused of murder, was prosecuted by the tribune Scaevola and compelled to go into exile, where he soon after put an end to his life. It was also a tribune, Scribonius, who proposed the law to restore their liberty to the Lusitanians sold by Galba. (Livy, *Epit.* xlix.)

² PROVOCO. Magistrate extending his hand over a Roman citizen; behind, a lieter armed with rods. Reverse of a coin of the Porcian family.

³ Livy, xxxi. 4, 49, xxxii. 1.

⁴ Livy, xxx. 26, xxxi. 4, 50, xxxiii. 42.

⁵ Livy, *passim*, beginning at xxxii. 29; let us remember that the citizens paid no tax while they were under the flag (*ibid.*, iv. 60, v. 10), and that even the priests were subject to the war-tax. (*Ibid.*, xxxiii. 52.)

⁶ *Multos pecuarios damnarunt* (Livy, xxxv. 10); *multos pecuarios ad populi iudicium adduxerunt* (xxxiii. 42). See (xxxv. 7) the plebiscitum of the tribune Semp. Gracchus, which extended the Roman laws upon usury to citizens of the allied towns.

Valerian law was again solemnly renewed, the tribune Porcius Lecca obtaining a decree in 198 that no citizen should be beaten with rods.¹

Meanwhile, as the constitution was not written, it yielded, according to circumstances, to the encroachments of the Senate, as well as of the tribunes, and the people sometimes saw the power of their chiefs checked by a *senatus-consultum*. In the year 190, Livy tells us of a tribune whose opposition was annulled by the Senate.² This uncertainty of the magistrates and the great governing bodies as to the limits of their authority, this facility which all possessed of verging upon the arbitrary, was a danger for liberty. During a century it was the wisdom of the one side, the moderation of the other, and mutual concessions, which saved public order.

The Senate indeed, notwithstanding the kind of dictatorship with which the dangers of the Second Punic War had invested it, preserved a respect for the popular body which deluded men into the belief that the early constitution was yet in force. Two consuls being rivals for the command in Africa before the battle of Zama, the Conscrip't Fathers referred the question to the people.

In 209 a plebeian solicited for the first time the office of grand curio; repulsed by the patricians, he appealed to the tribunes, who, far from supporting him, referred the affair to the Senate. The higher assembly declined; and the tribunes, conquered in this new kind of strife, were compelled to let the people decide. On their part the people, in the affair of the Campanians, after Capua had been recovered from Hannibal, had made the following decree: "That which the Senate, by a majority of votes, has determined, we also will and decree."³ Finally, in the election of Flaminius, the Senate, extending the popular rights in spite of the tribunes, maintained that the power which made the laws

¹ Livy, x. 9: *Virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit.* (Cic., *pro Rab.* 3, 4; cf. *de Rep.* ii. 31.)

² *Senatus tribunum plebis auctoritate sua compulit ad remittendam intercessionem.* (Livy, xxxvi. 40.) In regard to the *auctoritas patrum*, cf. Livy, xxxix. 39; after the battle of Cannae it was the Senate who appointed the dictator. (Livy, xxii. 57.)

³ Livy, xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, 8, and xxvii. 8. On the subject of this good understanding, see also xxxvii. 86, and in general, from xxvi. to xlii.

could excuse from the keeping of them. A few years later, after the conquest of Macedon, the Senate declared that it was no longer necessary for the citizens to pay taxes.¹

The senators filled all judicial offices; but they were only anxious as yet to render exact and speedy justice. Rather arbitrators than judges in the *judicia privata* or civil cases, they could be changed at will by the parties to the suit.² In respect to jurisprudence, if it was no longer a mystery, it remained at least a science rendered difficult by the multiplicity of laws and edicts. The schools opened by juriconsults were not enough to popularize the study of the law, but the pleader was no longer at the mercy of his judge.

The people, therefore, did not seem to have been deprived of any of their prerogatives; they preserved, as in the past, the right of sentencing to death, exile, or banishment, of appointing to public offices, of determining peace, war, and alliances. In seeing the extent of their rights and the boundless authority of their tribunes, Polybius was led to say that some day this people, abusing their power, would overthrow the state, and that the Roman Republic would fall into the hands of demagogues.³

The constitution was so little changed in its external forms, a few years before the time of the Gracchi, that in the eyes of the same writer who prophesied its destruction it appeared still the most perfect government the world had known. There existed even, in spite of a good deal of scepticism, an apparent respect for the early religious forms. Prodiges were as numerous and grotesque as ever; that is to say, the people and the soldiers were as ignorant and credulous. The generals vowed temples, but, like Sempronius Gracchus, in order to engrave upon them the story of their exploits or to paint their victories. They sacrificed a great number of victims before the action, but, like Paulus Aemilius, in order to restrain the impatience of the soldiers and to await the favorable

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 17. The payment of a twentieth upon sale or enfranchisement of slaves was still, however, retained, and the *portorium*, or customs tax, was not abolished till the year 62.

² Cic., *pro Cluent.* 43, § 120. The *judicia privata* dealt also with certain crimes: . . . *veluti si quis furtum fecerit, bona rapuerit, damnum dederit, injuriam commiserit.* (Gaius, *Inst.* iii. 182.)

³ Pol., vi. 57, 9.

moment.¹ They gravely watched the sky before the comitia met and during the session; but in order to reserve to themselves the means of dissolving that assembly, *obnuntiatio*, if the votes seemed likely to oppose the Senate's designs. "When Paulus Aemilius," says his biographer, "had obtained the office of augur, he studied the ancient rites thoroughly, and then allowed himself no innovation or omission, however trivial. Even although the divinity might be indulgent, he said, and willing to pardon these negli-

A SACRIFICE.²

gences, yet it would be fatal to the Republic to authorize them." The tribunes even now took auspices, and later Cicero invoked, like Paulus Aemilius, reasons of state for legitimating the augural

¹ At Pydna, the legions having the rising sun in their eyes, Paulus Aemilius made twenty-one sacrifices until the day had turned.

² A sacrifice of two bulls. The ten personages are clothed in Roman style; the *linus*, a sort of shirt worn by the assistants at sacrifices, is bordered with fringe, and the girdle, *livium*, goes many times around the waist; a *camillus* holds the *acerra*, or box of perfumes; the priests wear wreaths on their heads, one carries a torch to light the fire upon the altar. Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 772 bis of the Clarac catalogue.

science, reduced to an instrument in the hands of politicians. This people of formalists remained attached to the outward signs of things rather than to their true meaning; in the time of Caesar a certain Metellus caused an assembly to be broken up by lowering the flag on the Janiculum.

Thus the Republic lasted, and yet liberty was dying. The people were not oppressed, and yet they were in a state of frightful distress; the census indicated a larger population than ever, yet soldiers could not be obtained in sufficient number. The social conditions had changed, while the laws remained the same, and the constitution was but a hollow form whence the life had departed. The Roman people was already, as Catiline said later, a body without a head, a head without a body, — an immense crowd of poor, whom the old law refused to admit into the legions; and far above them, a few nobles, richer and more haughty than kings. A century of wars, of pillage, and of corruption had devoured the class of small proprietors to whom Rome owed her strength and her liberty. This is the great fact of this period and the cause of all the tempests that were to follow; for with this class disappeared patriotism, discipline, and the austere morality of early days; with it perished the equilibrium of the state, which henceforth, given up to the sanguinary vicissitudes of parties, oscillated between the tyranny of the multitude and the tyranny of the great, until the day when all, nobles and proletariat, rich and poor, found rest under a master.

II. NEW SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

MANY facts reveal this disappearance of the middle class. It alone furnished soldiers to the legions; and from the year 188 Livy¹ confesses that there was much difficulty in completing nine legions. In 151, Lucullus, had it not been for the devotion of Scipio Aemilianus, could not have made the levies required for the army in Spain,² and a few years later C. Gracchus was obliged to

¹ xl. 36 : *Is ipse exercitus aegre explebatur* ; cf. *ib.* xli. 21 : *delectus consulibus difficilior*.

² Polybius, xxxv. 4.

forbid the enlistment of soldiers less than seventeen years of age.¹ The census of the year 159 gave 338,314 citizens;² it was not the number of legionaries that had increased, but of *proletarii*, whom



ROMAN MARRIAGE.³

a well-founded distrust kept out of the army.⁴ The census itself diminished; in 131 it indicated only 317,823 citizens,⁵ and the

¹ Plutarch, in his *Life of Caius Gracchus*.

² Livy, *Epit.* xlvii. The censors prepared lists, first of those who might be called active citizens, that is, who served or could serve in the legions; then of inhabitants not comprised in the tribes, the *orbi*, *orbae*, and *viduae*, represented by their *tutores*; and lastly, the *aeruari*, citizens *sine suffragio*, which were inscribed upon the *tabulae citumae*.

³ Bas-relief from the Louvre, No. 492 of the Clarac catalogue. The woman is half veiled with her ample *palla*, or mantle. The *luena* that the husband wears over his tunic suggests that he is a *flamen*. (Cic. *Brut.* 14.) The child offering a bunch of grapes is doubtless an emblem of prosperity.

⁴ The *proletarii* were never regularly enrolled till the time of Marius. Before that time they were armed only in exceptional cases. (Orosius, iv. 1; Cass. Hemina, *ap.* Non. s. v. *proletarii*; Aulus Gellius, xvi.; Justus Lipsius, *de Mil. Rom.* i. 2.) In the time of which we are writing those who had less than 400 drachmae served in the fleet. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

⁵ According to Livy, in the year 200 there were but six legions; from 199 to 195, eight;

ensor. Metellus, alarmed, proposed in a singular address to compel all celibates to marry.¹ "Romans," he said, "if it were possible to do without wives, great cares would be spared us; but since nature has so arranged that we cannot live comfortably with a wife nor live without her, we ought to regard the perpetuity of the state more than our own satisfaction." It would seem from the concluding words of his discourse that he regarded this resignation to marriage as a virtue, which the gods did not give, but would recompense;² and he was right in believing it. Later, in consequence of many concessions of the right of citizenship, the census enumerated 540,000. But it was then that Livy makes the sad avowal: "Rome, which levied twenty-three legions for war against Hannibal, could to-day arm only eight."

The class of small proprietors was, then, disappearing; but what were the causes of this revolution, which went on without exciting notice? Since the day when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, war had unremittingly decimated the military population; 40,000 Romans at least were always on military service; that is to say, an eighth of the whole population, and a fourth part, perhaps, of those liable to be enrolled. In recent years, among modern Powers, the proportion has been one soldier to every 100 inhabitants, and he even serves but five or six years. At Rome the proportion was one in eight,³ and, like Ligustinus, the soldier might be twenty-three times enrolled.⁴ So active a service must have been extremely destructive; and the losses falling upon a limited class, this class must of necessity have decreased rapidly. In this way the long wars of Charlemagne contributed to exhaust the class of free men in the empire of the Franks. After his time there remained only feudal lords on the one side and serfs on the other, as at Rome

in 195, ten; in 194, eight; in 192 and 191, twelve; the two years following, fourteen; then thirteen, ten, and eight, until the war with Perseus. Then each legion consisted of *septa millia peditum, trecentos equites*. (Livy, xliv. 21.)

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lix.

² *Immortales virtutem approbare non adhibere debent.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* i. 6.)

³ The consuls having the right to choose the legionaries, selected them by preference from the rustic tribes. In estimating at 160,000 or 180,000 men the number of the inhabitants among whom the consuls made their levies, it is believed we are above the truth rather than below it.

⁴ Even more: from the age of seventeen to that of forty-five the Roman could not refuse his name for enrolment. A man could present himself as candidate for an office only after having served in ten campaigns. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

after the conquest of Africa, Greece, and Asia, there were only nobles and proletarii.

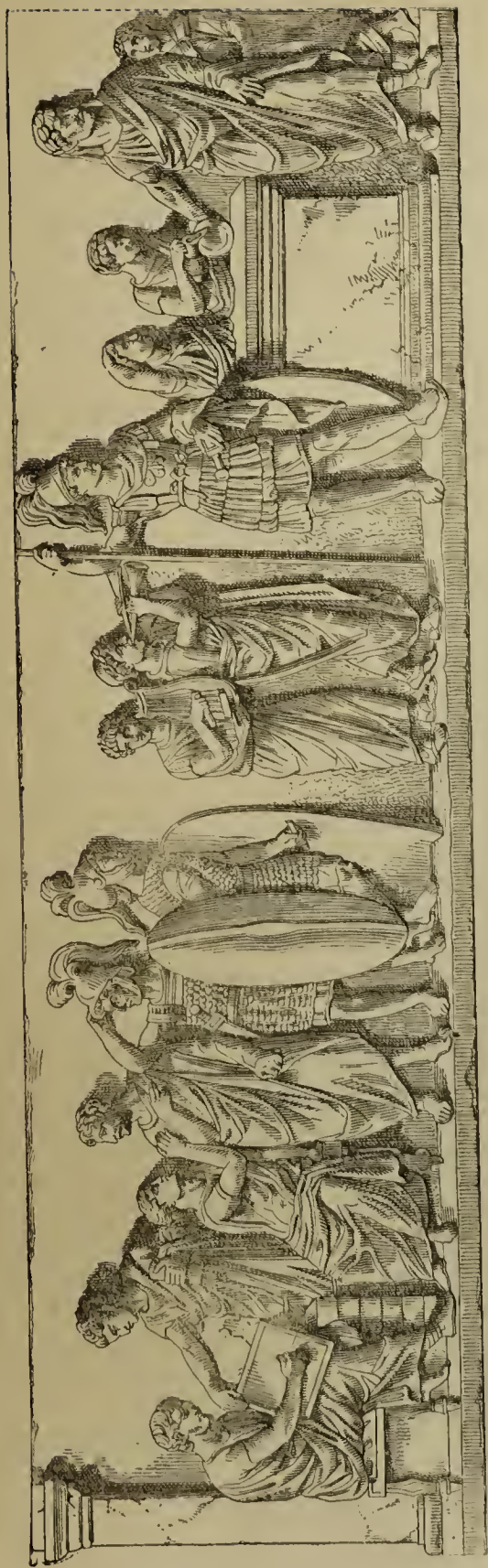
A thing more murderous, however, than battles or forced marches, than privations and abrupt changes of climate, than diseases, even, or the enemy's sword, was the destructive effect of camp life upon the morals of the soldiery. To the eyes of many, military service had become no longer a civic duty, but a lucrative trade. When the expedition promised booty the consuls always found plenty of volunteers.¹ Men who were poor one day became rich and prosperous the next. Naturally they preferred to the rude labors of the peasant and his dull, monotonous life the sudden changes in the terrible game of war; its privations, but also its pleasures, and the excesses following upon victory. The state furnishing them with provisions, clothing,² and food, they substituted a careless prodigality for the prudent and sparing habits of the husbandman. In case of being disbanded and obliged to resume the spade and return to daily labor and a life of sobriety, they were alarmed, and hastened to Rome to join the servile crowd of clients hanging about their former chief. In vain land was offered to them; they would not have it. The Senate sent them out as colonists to Antium, Tarentum, Locri, Sipontum, Buxentum, and many other places; after a few years they had all run away.³ Even the Gracchi found no supporters in this idle crowd, who left them to perish without attempting a rescue. When the enemy was

¹ When it was known that Africanus would accompany his brother into Asia, 5,000 volunteers at once presented themselves. (Livy, xxxvii. 4.) In 171 there was a crowd of them; *quia locupletes videbant qui priore Macedonico bello aut adversus Antiochum in Asia stipendia facerant.* (Ib. xlii. 32.) War was so truly now become a trade, that the plays of Plautus are full of the military braggarts, — certainly not altogether borrowed from Greece. Not a soldier does he bring upon the stage who is not of this species. "If I were not overhearing," says Simola in *Pseudolus*, v. 998, "would they take me to be a soldier (*stratioticus homo*)?"

² This was regularly established for the first time by Caius Gracchus.

³ A consul found Sipontum and Buxentum completely deserted. (Livy, xxxix. 23.)

NOTE. — This great composition (see full-page cut), from the Louvre, No. 751, Clarac catalogue, contains twenty-one personages and three animals; it shows the details of the ceremonies accompanying the census. The *suocentauria* are about to be performed; the assistants lead and restrain the bull, the ram, and the bear. The *censor*, seated in a curule chair, receives the declarations which a scribe writes down; the citizen, who is in the act of being registered, holds in his hand the tablet on which is the statement of his property, determining the class to which he belongs. Further on are two soldiers and a warrior, who by his rich armor and his ample *paludamentum* may be regarded as a military chief. Near the altar are musicians, always present at ceremonies of this kind, a young girl who covers her head with a veil, and a young man who pours lustral water into the *patena* which the priest holds out to him.



THE CENSUS (REGISTERING).



THE CENSUS (SACRIFICES).

near Rome campaigns were short, and the soldier, becoming quickly a citizen again, after a few days of absence returned to his wife and children and to his work. Now the legionaries, who a little later will resent being called citizens, *Quirites*, pass from fifteen to twenty years in camps or far-off garrisons; they have no families, they live unmarried; and if their general does not bring them



HERO, CALLED THE FIGHTING GLADIATOR, FOUND AT ANTUM.¹

with him on his return to Rome, they remain in the province, soon losing whatever of Roman virtues they may yet possess.² What a number of these did Mithridates find in Asia!

In the case of those whom the service restored to Italy, other causes were efficient in driving them from their fields into the city. The progress of luxury and the abundance of the precious

¹ Louvre, 262, Clarea catalogue.

² All the army of Gabinius remained in Egypt. (Caes., *de Bello civ.* iii. 110.) See further Caesar's war in Africa, and in Livy (xliii. 3) the enlistment of 4,000 men established in Carteia.

metals having suddenly raised the prices of things,¹ the same amount of money which once gave a respectable competence now was not enough to save from poverty. When Cnaeus Scipio, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, desired to be recalled from Spain for the purpose of giving his daughter in marriage, the Senate assumed the responsibility of providing a suitable husband for her, and gave her a dowry of 11,000 ases.² A few years after the battle of Zama twenty-five talents had come to be regarded as a very small dowry, even in a family of the old school, because many no longer took account of the virtues of the bride.³

Thus every day wants increased, and every day also — at least for the poor, who had the perils, but not the durable profits of conquest — the means of satisfying these wants diminished. Whatever [Polybius and] Tacitus may have said⁴ upon this subject, Italy was not, except in certain districts, remarkably fertile; or rather it was exhausted by long cultivation and lack of manuring: at all events, in the period with which we are concerned, if exception is made of certain favored districts in Etruria, Magna Graecia, and the Plain of the Po, the harvest produced not more than four or fivefold. Moreover, a bad system in respect to fallow ground; expenses of culture that were enormous, on account of the imperfect methods

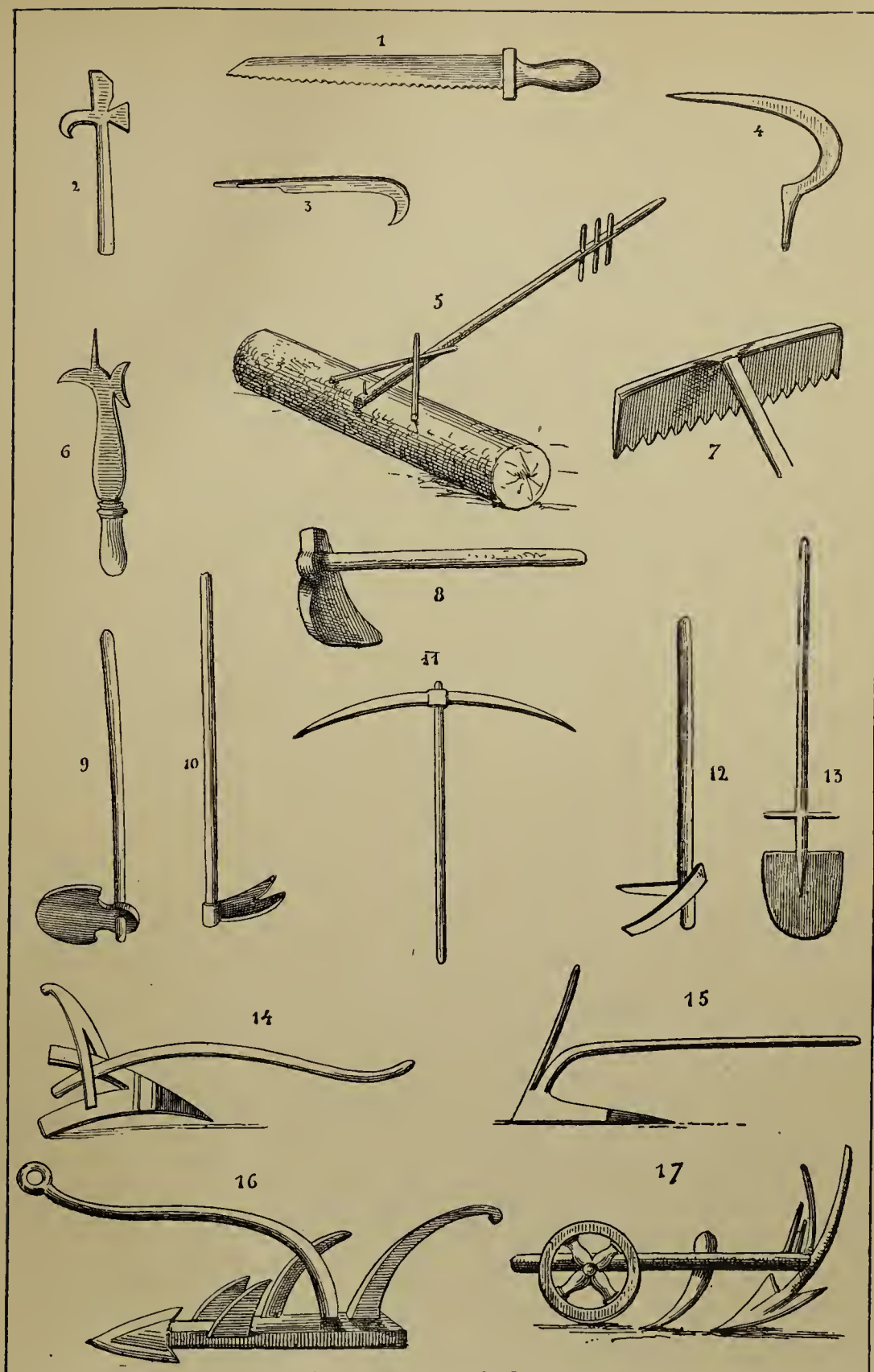
¹ Ταχὺ τὰς τούτων τιμὰς εἰς ἄπιστον ὑπερβολὴν ἤγαγεν. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ οἴνου τὸ κεράμιον ἐπωλείτο δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ Ποντικῶν ταρίχων τὸ κεράμιον δραχμῶν τετρακοσίων. (Diod., xxxvii. 3.)

² Seneca says that in his time this sum would not have sufficed the daughter of a freedman to buy herself a mirror.

³ *Dum dos sit, nullum vitium vitio vortitur.* (Plautus, *Persa*, v. 387.)

⁴ *Ann.* xii. 43.

NOTE (see full-page cut, p. 351, "Agricultural Implements"). — 1. Handsaw, from a bas-relief (*Serrula manubriata*). 2. *Dolabella*, a kind of axe, from a funereal marble. (Mazocchi, *de Ascia*, p. 179.) 3. *Falx arboraria sylvatica*, a common bill-hook, from a model found at Pompeii. 4. *Falx stramentaria et messoria*, sickle, from a model found at Pompeii. 5. Roller to level the ground. (Fellows, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 70.) 6. Pruning-knife (*falx vinitoria*), from an old manuscript of Columella. 7. Rake, from a model found in the catacombs of Rome. 8. *Ascia*, a short-handled hoe, from the Column of Trajan (the *zappa* of the Italian peasants). 9. *Sarculum*, a lighter and smaller hoe than the *ligo*, from a Roman bas-relief. 10. *Bidens*, or two-toothed *ligo*, a heavy hoe, from an engraved stone. 11. *Securis*, a pickaxe resembling our own, from a funereal bas-relief. (Stat. *Syl.* ii. 2, 87.) 12. *Capreolus*, an implement to stir and break up the soil (Columella, xi. 3, 46), from an old Florentine carving. 13. *Bipalium*, a spade with cross-bar (Cato, *de Re rust.* 45, 2; Varro, *de Re rust.* i. 37, 5; Columella, xi. 3, 11), from a bas-relief. 14. Ploughshare, with forked back (*dentale duplici dorso*), from a model still in use in Italy. 15. Simple wooden ploughshare, from an engraved stone. 16. Improved plough (*aratrum*), from a bas-relief discovered in the peninsula of Magnesia. 17. Wheeled plough (*currus*), from an engraved stone. (Fig. 438, of Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*; Caylus, *Rec. d'Antiq.* vol. v. pl. lxxxiii. 6; cf. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiq.*, *passim*.)



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. (SEE P. 350, NOTE).

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